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**MIGRATION AND INTEGRATION IN BORDERLESS
VILLAGE: SOCIAL CAPITAL AMONG INDONESIAN
MIGRANT WORKERS IN SOUTH KOREA**

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Migration and Integration in Borderless Village: Social capital Among Indonesian Migrant Workers in South Korea

SUMMARY

Existing research (Guarnizo et al. 2003; Portes, 2001; Cohen and Sirkeci, 2005) has endeavoured to clarify the relationship between migrants' transnational activities and their integration into the host society. Although there are both positive and negative perspectives on this relationship, it remains unclear whether migrants' transnational activities are likely to help or hinder their integration into the host society (Vertovec, 2009). This thesis uses the lens of social capital and diaspora identity to shed light on the relationship between Indonesian migrants' transnational activities and their integration in a multi-ethnic town in South Korea. The influx of migrants from various countries has led to the creation of what is called 'Borderless Village', where people have opportunities to build intercultural connections beyond their national group. Based on ethnographic fieldwork with a group of Indonesian migrants, which themselves show social disjunctions in terms of region of origin, language, religious belief and cultural practices, this thesis examines the integration patterns of Indonesian immigrant groups in this town.

In terms of whether transnational activities help or hinder integration in South Korea, I argue that both realities co-exist, and that the status of Wongok-Dong as a

migrant enclave and the internally divided nature of the Indonesian migrant group itself are key factors in this regard. Indonesian migrants achieve integration among themselves by performing economic and socio-cultural transnational activities, thereby transcending divisions within the group. Although there are differences in terms of their capacity to conduct transnational activities that are shaped by each Indonesian immigrants' different types of social capital, they are able perform transnational activities through creating and utilising 'hidden social capital'. This is generated when Indonesian migrants strategically reveal one of their identities, such as Indonesian, Muslim or other positions, rather than emphasising their regional origin in Indonesia to achieve their objectives such as pursuing economic profits, saving face and maintaining livelihood. Through mobilising these additional identities, most Indonesians can access resources that enable them to perform transnational activities – making international phone calls, occupying cultural spaces, participating in national celebrations – beyond their regional affiliations. In this regard, Indonesian migrants integrate into Wongok-Dong by performing transnational activities due to the features of the town as a migrant enclave. However, they are isolated from mainstream Korean society, as they only achieve integration into the multiethnic space of Wongok-Dong. Thus, this research adds crucial dimensions to theories of the relationship between migrants' transnational activities and integration into their host society through redefining both the features of the diaspora group and the role of social capital.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFMCSC	Ansan Foreign Migrant Community Support Centre
AIC	Antioch International Community
AKTIS	Asosiasi Tenaga Kerja Indonesia Sejahtera: prosperous labour association of Indonesian Worker
EPS	Employment Permit System
ETU-MB	Equal Trade Union-Migrant Branch
GALOK	Gabungan Anak Lombok: Son of Lombok
IBK	Industrial Bank of Korea
ICC	Indonesian Community in Corea
ITS	Industrial Trainee System
KMI	Kommunitas Muslim Indonesia: Indonesian Muslim community
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
SNS	Social Network Service
SPLP	Surat Perjalanan Laksana Paspor: travel document in lieu of a passport
TKI	Tenaga Kerja Indonesia : an Indonesian labour migrant
UGM	University of Gaja Mada
UK	United Kingdom
UT	Universitas Terbuka: Open University

GLOSSARY AND FOREIGN TERMS

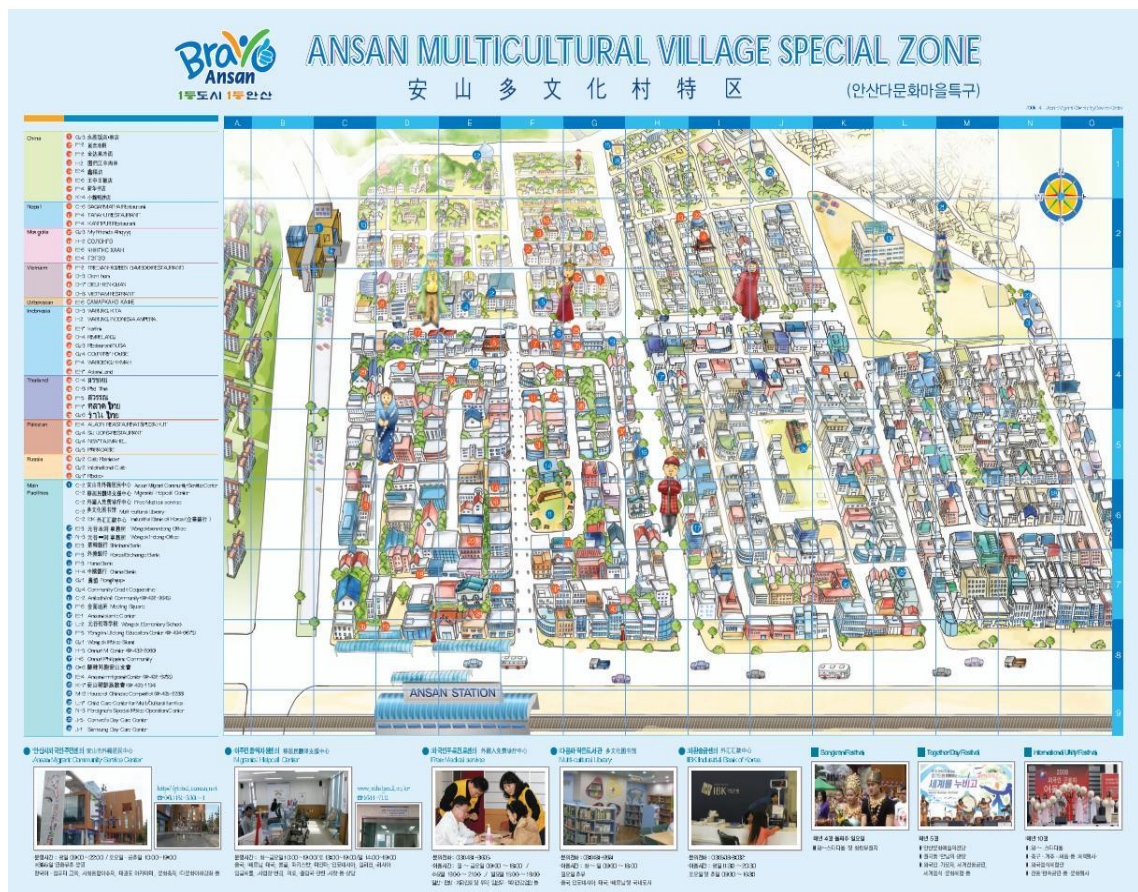
Indonesian

<i>Bahasa</i>	Language
<i>Batik</i>	Traditional Indonesian printed cloth
<i>Binneneka Tunggal Ika</i>	Unity in diversity (Indonesia' national slogan)
<i>Buka puasa</i>	Breaking fasting
<i>Dangut</i>	Genre of Indonesian popular music that is partly derived from Hindu, Malay and Arabic music.
<i>Gurami</i>	Giant fish or a popular food fish in Indonesian and Malaysian cuisines
<i>Halal</i>	Any object or an action which is permissible to use or engage in according to Islamic law
<i>Haram</i>	An Arabic term meaning sinful. This term is used to refer to any act that is forbidden by Allah.
<i>Idul Fitri</i>	One of the major national holiday in Indonesia
<i>Imam</i>	An Islamic leadership position or leader of a Muslim community
<i>Kawan sekampung</i>	Friends from same hometown
<i>Masjid</i>	Islamic temple
<i>Nasi campur</i>	Mixed rice
<i>Nasib</i>	Fate
<i>Paguyuban</i>	Association or hometown community
<i>Panca sila</i>	The official philosophical foundation of the Indonesian state
<i>Ramadan</i>	Ninth month of Islamic calendar, this month is

	regarded as fasting month among Muslim
<i>Rumah Kontrakan</i>	A house contracted by members of hometown community
<i>Sanggar</i>	Small house
<i>Sirotol Mustaquim</i>	Indonesian Islamic temple in Ansan
<i>Tabligh Akbar</i>	A great sermon at the religious meeting
<i>Warung</i>	Small restaurant

Korean

<i>Alget Sepnida</i>	I got it
<i>Annyeong Haseyo</i>	Hello
<i>Chuseok</i>	Korean thanks giving day
<i>Gaesaekki</i>	Son of bitch
<i>Hyeongnim</i>	Big brother
<i>Junghakgyo</i>	Middle school
<i>Minju Nochong</i>	Korean Confederation of Trade Union
<i>Noraebang</i>	Karaoke
<i>Oegukin Eoulim Hanmadang</i>	Foreign migrant together
<i>Oegukin Ingwon Jikimi</i>	A protector of foreign migrants' human right
<i>Ppari Ppari</i>	Hurry up
<i>Sajangnim</i>	Boss at the workplace
<i>Seol</i>	Korean New Years day
<i>Seonsaengnim</i>	A teacher
<i>Seunggeup/dan Simsa</i>	Upgrading test
<i>Taekwondo</i>	Korean traditional martial arts

Map of Ansan multicultural village special zone¹

¹ Source: <http://global.iansan.net>.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

I left for Wongok-Dong, also called ‘Borderless Village’, by bus. There were several Koreans and foreign migrants on the bus. By the time the bus had nearly arrived in Wongok-Dong, there were no Koreans. Instead, several foreign migrants were there. As far as I could tell, they were from a variety of different countries. Two people were talking in Chinese. One immigrant who was seated in front of me had black skin. Behind me, moreover, I heard an unknown language spoken by a person who was on the phone. [...] this indirect experience of a foreign migrants’ town and its diversity – in terms of the presence of foreigners on the bus – expanded when I got off and looked at the main street² in Wongok-Dong. Along the street, there were not only numerous foreign migrants from various countries but also the signs of many shops and restaurants were written in various foreign languages. When I saw such diversity, I wondered how people who had various social backgrounds maintained their life in this town. (Field note, Oct 2010)

The creation of a foreign migrant residential district is a new issue in Korean society. In the last twenty years, South Korea has experienced a large-scale inflow of migrants from various ethnic backgrounds and nationalities. Every year, migrant workers arrive in South Korea seeking employment. As a result, Korean society is experiencing a change in its ethnic and demographic patterns. As part of this process, foreign migrants have started to form their own residential districts throughout the country. Among the foreign migrant residential districts, Wongok-Dong, called Borderless Village, is the best known. It is seen as the capital of foreign migrants in Korea due to the existence there of a large number of

² This is the main road of Wongok-Dong. In this street, there are a lot of ethnic restaurants and shops.

immigrants and immigrant facilities such as restaurants, shops and religious churches, aided by favourable local government policies towards immigrants (see chapter 2). Through the formation of these foreign migrants' spaces, migrants endeavour to adapt themselves into the host society (Oh, 2007; Park, 2011).

In this ethnic enclave, immigrants perform community-building activities by developing social relations with people from the same country. In this context, Portes (1995) argues that, although immigrants living in enclaves suffer in that they experience isolation from the destination country, such enclaves can provide some benefits. Migrants in ethnic enclaves are able to exchange social support in order to achieve a self-sustaining life in the destination country. Each immigrant group has a shared heritage of pre-migration cultural beliefs, collective identities and a sense of solidarity that comes from their nationality (regional origin, ethnicity, religion and history). Foreign migrant residential spaces thus maintain traditional boundaries, which can be defined as based on the "essentialized, and modernist notion of the static nation state" (Kraidy, 1999: 344). On the basis of this, they form communities with people who have a similar heritage, and carry out economic, political and socio-cultural practices not only to maintain connections with their homeland but also to achieve social adaptation in the host country (Kwon, 2005; Oh, 2007). Migrants reinforce their boundaries, formed during the pre-migration period, by developing social relations in the host society to facilitate their adaptation.

However, it is also possible that migrants change their identity and patterns of activity through shared experiences of life after migration to the host country. As I shared in the above vignette taken from the early days of my fieldwork, Wongok-Dong as a foreign migrants' space is characterised by the diversity created by the existence of immigrants from various countries in the world. In this context, Rosaldo (1989: 28) points out that, "cities throughout the world today, increasingly include minorities defined by race,

ethnicity, language, class, religion, and sexual orientation. Encounters with difference now pervade modern everyday life in urban settings.” Based on this, he uses the term ‘Borderland’ to define the characteristics of this kind of space. In this space it is possible to make intercultural connections among people who have different social backgrounds. As a result, Arce (2004) argues that there is cultural fusion, recreation and resistance. This heterogeneity in the space leads to the de-nationalising and transcendence of cultural identities among the people. Wongok-Dong has the distinct characteristics of an ethnic enclave. It is a social space in which immigrants from varying social backgrounds can interact with each other. Migrants in this residential district are not only able to exchange social support among immigrants of the same nationality in their quest to achieve social adaptation but also have the opportunity to build social relations with immigrants from other nationalities, and even with Koreans, by negotiating their pre-migration identities.

So, how do immigrants transcend or negotiate their identity in the host society? Vertovec (2001a) argues that experiences of social exclusion in the host society during and after migration and settlement provide circumstances in which immigrants can transform their identity and culturally-shared dispositions. In the case of Korea, many migrants have experienced social exclusion based on racism and the hierarchical employment culture prevailing in Korean society. Partly as a result of this, Indonesian migrants in Wongok-Dong construct a collective identity with migrant workers from nearly 100 countries beyond their nationality via the activities of ETU-MB (Equal Trade Union - Migrant Branch), which was founded to resist the oppression of illegal migrants in Korea (Harvey, 2005). In spite of their negative experiences of the host society, immigrants can negotiate their identity through positive opportunities provided by the town. For example, there are many activities that are supported by government and civic organisations such as ‘Town Cleaning Day’, multicultural festivals and the ‘Wongok-Dong World Cup’. These activities

encourage social relations with other foreign migrants and also with Koreans (Lee, 2005). Furthermore, Koreans who live in Borderless Village often provide social support to foreign migrants. For example, according to Lee (2008), some native residents pay rent or electricity bills for migrants who have economic problems. Moreover, migrants who have health problems are also sometimes cared for by Koreans. Therefore, migrants who live in Borderless Village have opportunities to build positive social relationships with people in this area, regardless of their nationality. Thus the town stimulates intercultural connections that lead to boundary transcendence among people from a variety of socio-cultural backgrounds. As a result, immigrants can extend their networks in Borderless Village by participating in social activities with other people from outside their national community rather than focusing on activities with people who are from the same country.

These perspectives are useful in helping us to understand migrants' adaptation strategies and the issues of integration that arise from building social relationships in Wongok-Dong. However, in examining one national immigrant group with social cleavages for this study, another picture emerges of the integration issues of immigrants in the town. Several authors (Anthias, 1998; Wimmer and Glick Shiller, 2003) point out that past studies have tended to overstate the internal homogeneity and boundedness of diaspora communities. As a result, they overlook the internal divisions within diaspora communities such as class, gender, region and politics. Yet these social cleavages provide possibilities to achieve new integration patterns in Wongok-Dong. In this study, I focus on how members of the Indonesian diaspora group³, internally divided as it is according to ethnicity, regional origin, language use, and religion, maintains or transcends their cultural patterns in Wongok-Dong. Maintaining cultural patterns does not necessarily mean the persistence of original Indonesian features. Equally, changing their cultural patterns and extending their

³ The next section will explore this in more detail.

network does not imply that Indonesian migrants achieve assimilation into Korea. These features of the Indonesian immigrant group and the distinct characteristics of Wongok-Dong provide a new perspective on immigrant integration into the host society. Although Wongok-Dong is a part of Korea, as a foreign migrants' residential district, the town's ability to create new social orders based on the shared experiences of people who have different social backgrounds does not reflect Korean society more generally. Therefore, achieving integration into Wongok-Dong does not mean assimilation into the mainstream society.

PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

The purpose of this research is to shed light on the relationship between Indonesian immigrants' transnational activities and their integration through the role of social capital and diaspora identity. The specific aims of the study are: (1) to show how Indonesian immigrants maintain or transcend their group boundaries in Wongok-Dong; (2) to indicate how Indonesian immigrants build different types of social capital through applying the concept of social capital to Indonesian migrants' boundary-making processes in Wongok-Dong; (3) to clarify how Indonesian migrants perform transnational activities as a result of their social capital; (4) to construct a broader sense of immigrants' integration into the host society through focusing on the specifics of Indonesian immigrants' experiences in Wongok-Dong.

The four key research questions formulated around these aims are as follows. First, I would like to answer whether socially divided Indonesian diaspora groups maintain or transcend their boundaries from the pre-migration period. As described in the previous section, Wongok-Dong is a residential space for foreign migrants from various countries in

which they might maintain traditional boundaries but also create intercultural connections beyond traditional boundaries. Thus, the features of Wongok-Dong as a Borderless Village provide Indonesian immigrants with the chance to evolve the process of maintaining and transcending their boundaries. In this perspective, I want to understand how Indonesian immigrants maintain or transcend their boundaries in response to various situations in Wongok-Dong. However, the heterogeneity of the Indonesian immigrant group, divided by regional origin, language usage, religious belief and cultural practices, produces some unique outcomes when examining their identity issues.

The second question explores how Indonesian immigrants produce different types of social capital in Wongok-Dong. There are three types of social capital: bonding (connections with people who have similar social background); bridging (networks with people who have different social background); and linking (relationship between people who have different social status). And different types of social capital yield different social outcomes (Putnam, 2000). On the basis of this, Indonesian immigrants may act differently in terms of building social capital. Namely, Indonesian immigrants' maintenance and transcendence of their boundaries influences their formulation of social capital. In this regard, I want to look at how different social capital can be yielded among Indonesian immigrants and the role of each type of social capital in Wongok-Dong.

The third question is how Indonesian migrants living in Borderless Village engage in economic and socio-cultural transnational activities. Indonesian immigrants, as temporary visitors, may regard transnational activities as crucial in maintaining their life in Korea. In this regard, they may use their social capital to perform transnational activities. However, as described above, Indonesian immigrants have the chance to build different types of social capital such as bonding, bridging and linking in Wongok-Dong and their different engagement of various types of social capital can influence their involvement in

transnational activities in Wongok-Dong. In this regard, I would like to examine the relationship between differently accumulated social capital among Indonesian immigrants and the performance of transnational activities.

Finally, I endeavour to answer the question of how we can understand the relationship between transnational activities and Indonesian migrants' integration in Korea. Achieving integration into Wongok-Dong, a foreign-migrant town, does not automatically lead to assimilation into Korean society more broadly. In this perspective, I want to look at how Indonesian immigrants' transnational activities influence their assimilation into both Wongok-Dong and Korean society.

FRAMING THE STUDY

CONCEPTS FOR THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

For this research, I have adopted several concepts, such as integration, diaspora, ethnicity, social capital and transnationalism. Several studies have already dealt with the relationship between immigrants' transnational activities and their integration (Guarnizo et al., 2003; Portes, 2001; Portes et al., 2001, Cohen and Sirkeci, 2005). However, it is not yet clear whether immigrants' transnational activities are likely to hinder their integration into the host society or not (see Kivisto, 2005; Morawska, 2003; Vertovec, 2007, 2009). I propose two main hypotheses. First, that Indonesian diaspora identity can affect the formation of social capital (bonding/bridging), which may indicate whether Indonesian immigrants are becoming integrated into Wongok-Dong or not. Second, Indonesian migrants' transnational activities and attachments are influenced by various types of social capital (bonding and/or bridging). To examine these hypotheses, analysing the role of social capital and diaspora identity is crucial.

The concept of social capital is often adopted to explain immigrants' integration into host society. Putnam (2000) insists that bridging social capital, which refers to the connections between people who have different social backgrounds, is more important to 'get ahead' than bonding social capital, formed between people who have similar social backgrounds. In this context, bonding social capital is used to explain the socio-economic mobility of ethnic minorities (Portes and Zhou, 1992; Sanders and Nee, 1996; Waldinger, 1986) and understand the academic performance of American Asians (Bankston and Zhou, 2002; Zhou, 1997, 2005) in the host society. However, immigrants' formation of bonding social capital can also cause isolation within the host society due to a lack of social relationships with natives. The implication here is that building social relationships with natives can reduce social discrimination (Mowu, 2002). In other words, immigrants can access much needed resources through the native population of the host society. Thus, the formation of bridging social capital can have a positive impact on immigrants' integration into the host society.

On the basis of these perspectives of social capital, an analysis of diaspora features according to both homeland-orientation (Safran, 1991; Cohen, 1997; Brubaker, 2003) and hybridity (Hall, 1993; Brah, 1996) may provide the foundations for understanding the building of different types of social capital (bonding/bridging) and the relationship between transnationalism and integration. Such an analysis contributes to an understanding of whether immigrants achieve integration in the host society or not through maintaining (homeland orientation) or transcending (hybridity) their identity. Although these perspectives are useful in analysing immigrants' integration issues in the host society, there are limitations when we examine an immigrant group that has internal divisions. To clarify this, concepts of ethnicity, specifically ideas of primordialism and instrumentalism, are needed to provide a deeper understanding about features of the internal dynamics within a

single diaspora group. While primordialism emphasises that ethnicity is inherited and therefore non-negotiable (Geertz, 1963), instrumentalism insists that ethnicity is socially constructed (Anderson, 1983; Brass, 1991; Barth, 1969; Cohen, 1969; Banton, 1994). These views, offering different perspectives, enable us to clarify the boundary-making process (including both maintenance or transcendence) within a single diaspora group. Investigating these intra-group dynamics provides clues for understanding different immigrants' broader integration processes in the host society.

I believe that using the concepts of social capital, ethnicity, diaspora, integration and transnationalism as analytical tools in this research will enable us to understand new patterns of immigrants' integration in an ethnic enclave within the host society. A diaspora group that has internal divisions can provide distinct features through their boundary making processes and it may contribute to our understanding of immigrants' formation of different types of social capital (bonding/bridging). Furthermore, understanding immigrants' bonding or bridging social capital may help to clarify the relationship between transnational activities and their integration into the host society. Moreover, in conducting this research, relevant theoretical contributions may emerge from the critical examination of the case under study.

THE CHOICE OF INDONESIANS IN WONGOK-DONG AS THE STUDY GROUP

The nature of the Indonesian immigrant group and Wongok-Dong offers a perfect illustration to yield migrants' new integration patterns in the host society because of the double-sided character of the town and the Indonesian immigrant groups' status as a heterogeneous group. In terms of the characteristics of Wongok-Dong, even though the town is well known as the number one multicultural space in Korea due to various efforts to build a 'Borderless Village', the real strength of the town as a multicultural space is

intangible due to government interventions (Park 2011; Oh, 2011)⁴. Therefore, people in Wongok-Dong have difficulties to build intercultural connections beyond their nationalities due to the disappearance of the vitality of the town as a Borderless Village⁵. During my fieldwork periods, in fact, I confirmed that foreign migrants have focused on building relationships with people who have the same nationality. Although foreign migrants can enjoy multicultural events to enhance solidarity beyond their nationality, they use these advantages for not making social relationships with others who are from different countries but focusing on activities of their own national community. In this context, however, there are possibilities to make social relationships within the national immigrant community which has social divisions, through using various facilities and advantages for foreign migrants within the town.

In this regard, I chose the Indonesian immigrant group as a case study due to the heterogeneous characteristics of the group. According to Drake (1989), Indonesia is the most complex single nation in the world because of its diversity in terms of geographical environments and people. More specifically, there are numerous ethnic groups in Indonesia. Within the category of ethnic group, there are also differences of language usage, customs and cultures. In terms of religion, although Islam is the major religion in Indonesia, other religions also are accepted. Thus, the Indonesian group is internally divided by regional origin, ethnicity, language usage and religion. These heterogeneous characteristics of the Indonesian homeland were confirmed by my fieldwork experience. For example, there were nineteen *paguyubans* (hometown communities), which are formulated according to Indonesian immigrants' regional origins in Wongok-Dong. The town's reputation as a

⁴ For more detailed information see Chapter 2.

⁵ Of course, there are interactions between immigrants who have different nationalities in Wongok-Dong in their daily life. However, these social relationships are not enough to exchange social support for achieving adaptation in Wongok-Dong.

number one multicultural village in Korea has led to a mass influx of Indonesian migrants who have various social backgrounds. As a result, social disjunctions of Indonesian migrant groups are clearly shown in Wongok-Dong. Therefore, they have the chance to maintain their boundaries according to their pre-migration shared heritages. Even though there are social divisions within Indonesian immigrant group, Indonesian immigrants have also formed integrated communities such as the ICC (Indonesian Community in Corea)⁶, *Sirothol Mustaqim* (an Islamic community) and so on beyond their *paguyuban* in response to various circumstances in Wongok-Dong. To sustain their lives, Indonesian group which has social divisions actively use provided advantages for enhancing bonds amongst subjects in Wongok-Dong. Therefore, shared experiences in the host society may lead them to transcend their boundaries. These characteristics of Indonesian immigrant group enable them to isolate or integrate in Wongok-Dong without considering relationship with people who have different nationality. Therefore, the double-sided characteristics of Wongok-Dong, the social cleavages of the Indonesian immigrant group and the applications of concepts such as diaspora, ethnicity, social capital, and transnationalism yield new patterns of immigrants' integration into Wongok-Dong.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

In Chapter 2, I provide contextual structures to make visible the 'hidden interaction' within the Indonesian migrant group in Wongok-Dong. To explore this issue, I discuss: (1) the characteristics of Korea as a perceived 'homogeneous' country; (2) the distinct features of Wongok-Dong as a 'Borderless Village'; and (3) the Indonesian immigrant group as a heterogeneous group. The chapter provides a foundation for further discussions

⁶ For more detailed information see Chapter 6.

throughout the thesis that explore a new pattern of immigrant integration.

In Chapter 3, I build the theoretical framework for this research. I start by presenting the existing literature on Wongok-Dong and identifying its limitations. On the basis of these limitations, I discuss relevant theories, such as integration, diaspora, ethnicity, social capital and transnationalism, and highlight the features and limitations of each concept for the case of Indonesian immigrants in Wongok-Dong. Then I suggest alternative approaches to understanding each concept. This enables me to conclude this chapter by addressing the possibility of uncovering a new pattern of immigrant integration into the host society.

In Chapter 4, I discuss the methodology that I adopted for this research. As I will describe, for my research I used a multi-method approach consisting of participant observation, informal conversations, semi-structured interviews and field notes as part of my ethnographic research. This chapter discusses: (1) research site and subjects; (2) the rationale for choosing and reflections on the effectiveness of each specific method; (3) the analysis of data gathered. The chapter also highlights the key challenges faced during the collection of the data and how they have been managed.

In Chapter 5, I examine the criteria employed by Indonesian migrants to emphasise their contrastive identity when compared to ‘other Indonesians’ through the demarcation of ethnic boundaries. These boundaries are maintained according to regional origin, religious belief, language use and cultural practices. Based on these factors, they produce symbolic, spatial, and social segregation within the Indonesian migrant group in Wongok-Dong. Hence, this discussion will contribute to the diaspora debate by investigating how ethnicity is constructed among Indonesian migrant groups. .

In Chapter 6, I focus on how Indonesian migrants enhance bonds between previously separated Indonesian migrant diaspora groups, to transcend boundaries in

Wongok-Dong. I present the development of integrated Indonesian immigrants' groups as they faced various challenges in Korea. Furthermore, I discuss how the opportunities that can be obtained by Indonesian immigrants in Korea play an important role in explaining boundary transcendence. This discussion will contribute to the diaspora debate by exploring patterns of integration among separated Indonesian diaspora groups.

In Chapter 7, I explore how Indonesian migrants are achieving social outcomes through social capital based on maintenance and transcendence of their group boundaries. In this regard, I discuss Indonesian immigrants' process of 'obtaining' or 'chasing' the resources that come from formulating bonding and bridging social capital in Wongok-Dong. Then, I conclude the chapter with a discussion of the idea of the building of 'hidden bridging social capital' among Indonesian immigrants that results from the specific features of a socially divided diaspora group and the distinct characteristics of Wongok-Dong. The intention is to provide a new perspective on the relationship between social capital and immigrant integration into the host society.

In Chapter 8, I examine how Indonesian migrants perform their transnational activities in Wongok-Dong context. Therefore, I address various aspects of Indonesian immigrants' transnational activities and their meaning for sustaining their life in Korea. I discuss how resources for performing transnational activities are produced and consumed by Indonesian immigrants in Wongok-Dong, based on the formation of different types of social capital. This discussion intends to clarify the relationship between transnational involvements and integration issues of Indonesian immigrants group in Wongok-Dong, as well as immigrant groups in general.

In Chapter 9, I conclude the thesis by highlighting the key findings of the study and discuss the theoretical implications of the research, before finally suggesting avenues for future research.

CHAPTER 2. KOREA, WONGOK-DONG AND INDONESIAN MIGRANT GROUP

INTRODUCTION

The past decades have seen a dramatic increase in the number of international migrants arriving into South Korea. These include migrant workers, foreign marriage migrants, ethnic Koreans and overseas students. In 2011, the number of migrants living in Korea exceeded one million and accounted for 2.7% of the total population of the country⁷. This number makes the notion of ethnic homogeneity seem unviable in the context of South Korea. This influx of foreign labourers and international brides has been caused due to South Korea's rapid economic development and a subsequent serious labour shortage. Since Korea made the transition from a labour-exporting country to a labour-importing country in the 1980s when thousands of foreign labourers entered Korea to take jobs in the unskilled industrial sectors shunned by domestic workers. The massive inflow of foreign migrants led to the creation of several foreign migrant residential districts in Korea; Wongok-Dong is the largest foreign migrant town in South Korea.

There have been many studies that explore a wide range of issues in relation to migrants living in Wongok-Dong. As I described in the previous chapter, these bodies of research focus on the possible advent of a multicultural village in Korea (Park and Jung, 2004; Lee, 2005; Lee, 2008). Researchers focus on relationship building among people from

⁷ Source: <http://www.immigration.go.kr>

different social backgrounds and insist that these relationships can provide opportunities for the formation of a special multicultural space in the context of a homogeneous Korean society.

However, these studies do not deal with the different features of each immigrant group's nationality. In Wongok-Dong, there are many foreign migrants who come from many countries. Their different backgrounds such as nationality, ethnicity, language usage and so forth produce different social outcomes through contact with various circumstances in Korea. Even though there are distinguishing features among the different immigrant groups, existing literature on this topic deals with immigrant communities without considering their nationality. This is not sufficient to show the real characteristics of each immigrant group.

Additionally, existing research has regarded Wongok-Dong as a part of Korean society. Even though this village is a part of Korea in terms of its geographical position, regulations and conditions, one simply cannot define this place as representative of Korean society. Numerous foreign migrants have transformed not only the town's physical environment but also its social and cultural atmosphere. For example, immigrants lead to the appearance of ethnic restaurants, shops and many facilities. Furthermore, a new social order is created by the existence of people from a variety of social backgrounds. Based on this, different patterns of immigrant integration take place in Wongok-Dong. Although building a social relationship with Koreans is important for migrants to achieve integration into the host society, building a relationship between foreign migrants should also be considered when examining integration issues in the Wongok-Dong context.

By focusing on the diversity of the Indonesian migrant group and treating Wongok-Dong as an 'alternative society', this research hopes to overcome the limitations of the existing literature. In this context, the chapter aims to provide contextual structures to

make visible the ‘hidden interactions’ within the Indonesian migrant group in Wongok-Dong. To explore this issue, I discuss the characteristics of Korea as a homogeneous country, the specificity of Wongok-Dong as a ‘Borderless Village’ and the heterogeneity of the Indonesian migrant group. The chapter prepares the foundation for further discussion, which will shed light on integration issues arising from Indonesian immigrants’ use of social capital and identity negotiation in Wongok-Dong.

KOREA AS A ‘HOMOGENEOUS COUNTRY’

One language, one culture, one race, one nation (Underwood, 2002
cited in Harvey 2005: 9)

THE CONSTRUCTION OF KOREAN ETHNIC NATIONALISM

It’s an extraordinary sight: South Koreans queuing for hours to donate their best-loved treasures in a gesture of support for their beleaguered economy. Housewives gave up their wedding rings; athletes donated medals and trophies; many gave away gold ‘luck’ keys, a traditional present on the opening of a new business or a 60th birthday. But perhaps the most extraordinary aspect of the campaign is not the sums involved, but the willingness of the Korean people to make personal sacrifices to help save their economy. (BBC News, 1998)

This example shows the power of ethnic nationalism in Korea. If one questions what accounts for this strong sense of ethnic national unity, the answer might be, “the historical origins and politics of Korean national identity based on a sense of ethnic homogeneity” (Shin, 2006: 3). In this regard, it is important to discuss several features of Korean society to understand the origin of Korean ethnic national unity.

Korea’s modern ethnic national identity developed during the Japanese colonial

period⁸ after 1910 (Choi 2008; Lee M, 2008; Shin, 2006), when the Japanese instituted a policy to obliterate Korean culture. For example, the Japanese tried to destroy Korean national spirit by preventing the use of the Korean language and distorting Korean history. In order to resist Japan's imperialism and preserve Korea's cultural identity and roots, the concept of 'one nation' was used and "*Dangun*⁹ was transformed from a political leader into a mythic procreator of the Korean people" (Han, 2007:24). As a colony of Japan, Korea needed a powerful instrument to unite its people and, as a result, Korean society had a strong tendency to distinguish 'us' (Korean) from 'them' (Japanese).

Secondly, Korean ethnic unity was strengthened by the experiences of the division of its territory and the Korean War. Although ethnic nationalism played an important role in binding Koreans together in opposition to Japanese colonialism, nationalism was cultivated by the Korean government as it endeavoured to seek political legitimacy and economic development during the Cold War (Park, 2008). For example, Syngman Rhee's¹⁰ government stressed the ideology of anticommunism and a very strict and limited relationship with Japan to support his political regime through independence and the Korean War. In addition, Junghui Park¹¹, who became president of Korea through a military coup, campaigned for the erection of a bronze statue of Admiral Sunsin Lee¹² to obtain legitimacy for his military government. His government also established the Charter of National Education, which strengthened Korean national spirits and played an important role in forcing people to sacrifice themselves for national economic development. That is, he endeavoured to overcome a lack of legitimacy as a military

⁸ Korean was colonised by Japan from 1910 to 1945.

⁹ *Dangun* is regarded as the progenitor of the Koreans.

¹⁰ Syngman Rhee was the first president of Korea and his tenure was from 1948 to 1960.

¹¹ President of Korea from 1963 to 1979

¹² Sunsin Lee is the general who defeated Japanese army during Japanese invasion of Korea in 1592. He is considered as the greatest military leader in Korean history.

government by achieving economic development. Although ethnic nationalism was enhanced mainly for political and economic purposes during this period, it also proved useful in inspiring patriotism among Koreans.

Additionally, the remarkable stability of Korea's territorial boundaries and the endurance of the Korean bureaucratic regime provided the foundations for Korean identity (Schmid, 2002, Duncan, 1998). As a peninsula, South Korea shares its only land border with North Korea and South Koreans consequently traditionally had little contact with other countries. Contact with people from different countries, cultures and ethnicities was further restricted by the limited migration of South Koreans. In the past, Koreans did not have enough money to go abroad. For those without financial constraints, government controls, including background checks to gain permission to leave the country, constrained the out-migration of Koreans. According to Park (2008), people who wanted to go abroad whatever their aims, should take the 'qualify education'¹³. For these reasons, Koreans rarely experienced others from different countries in their daily life until the government made visa-free agreements with many countries to encourage tourism in preparation for the Seoul Olympics in 1988. Before the Olympics, conditions in Korea were conducive to the cultivation of homogeneous collectivities with a sense of shared identity.

The notion of ethnic homogeneity and ethnocentrism that played an important role during the Japanese colonial period was reinforced through subsequent events, including the Korean War, an authoritarian regime, democratisation, economic crisis, and globalisation (Choi, 2008). However, a deep-rooted sentiment of ethnic homogeneity can be dangerous in societies undergoing significant and rapid social change (Lim, 2009). By creating a narrow category of belonging, these sentiments can cause the marginalisation

¹³ This was mainly consisted of anticommunist education for maintenance of the national system through preparing possibilities to encounter Korean communists in abroad.

and exclusion of certain groups of people. In the next section, I will discuss the advent of foreign migrants in Korea.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES AND THE INTRODUCTION OF THE GUEST WORKER PROGRAMME

From the late 1980s, Korea experienced rapid economic growth and a high increase in the domestic wages of Korean workers. In addition, better-educated Koreans started to shun engaging in 3D (difficult, dirty and dangerous) job sectors (Kim, 2004). This contributed to serious labour shortages, especially among labour-intensive small and medium-sized businesses and service areas. Under these circumstances, Korea went through ‘migration transition’ and moved from being a labour-exporting to a labour-importing nation (Park, 1994). Kim (2009) applies dual labour market theory to explain the labour shortage problems in Korea. In this theory, international migration is shaped by individuals in industrialised countries unwillingness to take low paying, less prestigious and manual jobs and the subsequent demand for cheap foreign labourers.

In order to resolve serious labour shortages, the government implemented the ‘Industrial Trainee System (ITS)’ in 1994; this programme allowed foreign workers to have one-year training and a two-year work permit. The Korean Federation of Small Business controlled the whole process of recruiting. The first foreign workers were mostly from Asian countries such as China (including ethnic Koreans), Vietnam, Indonesia, Bangladesh and the Philippines. According to the Ministry of Justice, 31,830 foreign workers entered Korea in the first year of the programme and the number of trainees fluctuated between 25,000 and 52,000 per year until 2007 when the system finally ceased.

However, the ITS caused three major problems: human rights abuses, corruption in selecting trainees and increased undocumented workers (Kim, 2009). For example, in the

initial year of working, foreign workers were considered as ‘trainees’, not ‘wage workers’ (Kim, 2004). Therefore they were unable to receive protection under the Labour Standard Law and they were not even allowed to form labour unions. Moreover, trainees often deviated from their registered workplace to find better paid positions. Because of these problems, the Employment Permit System¹⁴ (EPS) replaced the ITS in 2007.

Under the EPS, foreign workers can enjoy the same legal rights as domestic workers, including the right to join labour unions, the right to industrial accident insurance and a minimum wage guarantee. Furthermore, government agencies take charge of the entire process of importing migrants instead of giving control to the business associations; this is in order to ensure the fairness of the process.

The ITS and EPS programme give foreign workers only a temporary status and they are not conceived as objects of integration. With the combination of *jus sanguinis* and exclusionary differential policies, Korea, in its desire to maintain homogeneity, implemented a closed immigration policy. In relation to this, the next section will examine various social exclusions experienced by foreign migrants in Korea.

MULTIDIMENSIONAL ASPECTS OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION

Firstly, foreign workers are institutionally excluded in Korea. As I described above, the Korean government has designed its guest worker programmes to maintain homogeneity. In this regard, Seol and Han (2004: 46) insist that, “closing Koreans’ ‘front door’ to low-skilled and unskilled workers only creates a need for a ‘side-door’ for importing foreign workers”. In other words, Korea allows immigration of foreign migrant workers to Korea

¹⁴ The Korean government established a memorandum with fifteen labour-exporting countries such as the Philippines, Indonesia, Cambodia, China, Mongolia, East Timor, Vietnam, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Uzbekistan, Thailand, Pakistan, Kyrgyz Republic and Myanmar to import foreign labour migrants under the EPS.

for a limited period of time. Foreign migrant workers, under the EPS, are able to enjoy the same labour rights as Koreans. However, they are totally excluded from obtaining permanent residency in Korea. Moreover, Seol (2009) argues that government policies for minorities are divided into two categories depending on their legal status. The government provides legal protection only for lawfully registered foreign workers. However, unlike marriage migrants living in Korea, there are no 'integration' or 'assimilation' policies for foreign labour migrants. They are considered as labour providers who can fill up industry sectors that are shunned by Koreans and are expected to leave when their working contract is finished. For undocumented foreign workers, a zero tolerance policy is applied and they are exposed to constant violent crackdowns, detention and repatriation.

Following this, Lee (2005) argues that foreign workers are economically excluded through discrimination in the workplace and labour exploitation. Because foreign workers are regarded as people who are from poor countries, they are looked down on by Koreans; foreign migrant workers are also unable to compete with domestic nationals even if their abilities do not fall behind nationals (Han, 2004). Moreover, foreign workers suffer from having to work overtime due to economic hardship. According to the data shown in Lee (2005), the average working hours of foreign workers per week are 14 hours longer than those of domestic workers. Nevertheless, their weekly pay is lower than Koreans. Undocumented workers are even more vulnerable to workplace abuse, a high accident rate and wage delays.

Foreign migrant workers also face socio-cultural discrimination. Koreans have regarded migrant workers not as insiders, but outsiders who have to go back home after completing their economic activities in Korea. For this reason, foreign migrant workers are not candidates for inclusion, and experience unfair treatment and isolation in their social lives as well as work lives. This exclusivism in Korean society can be explained by

homogeneous ideology (Lee, 2005) but the mass media has also played a part in ‘demonising’ foreign migrant workers, often portraying them as criminal (Lee, 2008).

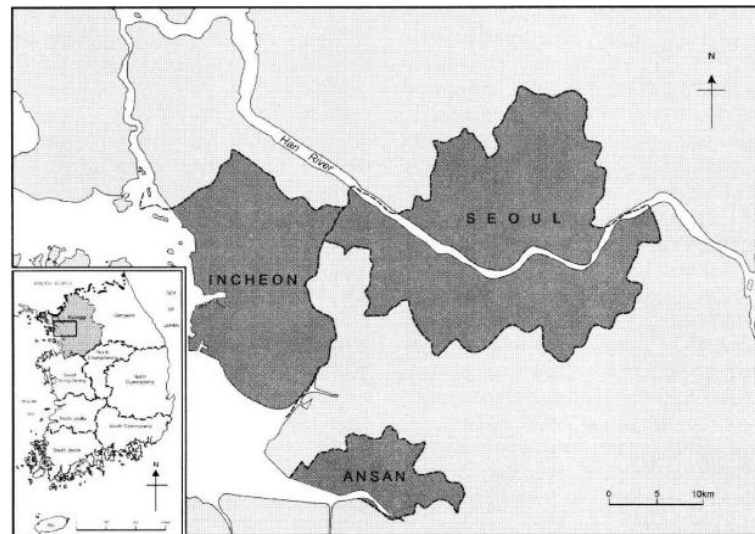
In brief, in the case of Korea the state itself becomes a social actor that causes the exclusion of foreign workers through the implementation of strict regulations on labour by restricting the terms of entrance to the country and border control and limiting access to naturalization. Moreover, long-held ethno-nationalism aggravates boundaries between dominant groups and migrant workers. However, although discrimination toward foreign migrants is dominant in Korean society, ‘Borderless Village’ in Korea has provided a favourable environment for foreign migrants. The following section deals with the role of Wongok-Dong in including foreigners in Korean society.

WONGOK-DONG AS A ‘BORDERLESS VILLAGE’

Wongok-Dong is not Korean land. Foreigners outnumber Koreans here. Thus, I feel so comfortable whatever I do. (Joni from Indonesia)

THE FORMATION OF THE FOREIGN MIGRANTS’ TOWN IN WONGOK-DONG

Wongok-Dong, the largest area of migrant settlement in Korea, is located in Ansan city, 100 km south of Seoul in Gyeonggi province (See figure 1).

Figure 1. Location of Ansan in Kyeonggi province¹⁵

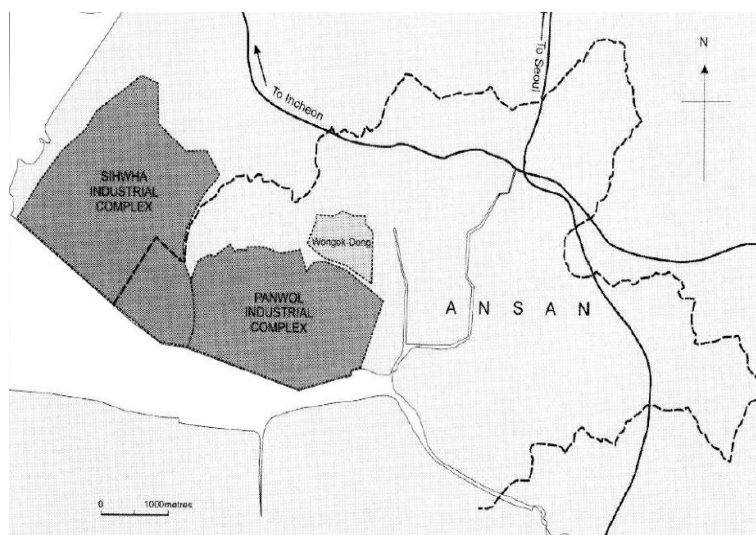
Originally, Wongok-Dong was a residential district for Koreans who worked in the Banwal industrial complex from the early 1980s to early 1990s. However, Koreans left Wongok-Dong since the industries in Ansan experienced labour market segmentation and labour shortages. Although the Korean government suppressed the labour union movement, the emergence of democratisation in the late 1980s led to an overwhelming demand by the workers for better wages and working conditions. As a result of the labour movement, domestic wages in Korea greatly increased. Nevertheless, there were differences in terms of the rate of salary increases between large and small/medium-sized companies. For this reason, the Banwal industrial complex, which was dominated by small and medium-sized firms, suffered from an outflow of native Korean workers seeking better paid jobs elsewhere¹⁶. Not only did this outflow impact the operations of the local factories in the area, but it also proved detrimental for local businesses in Ansan. Foreign migrant workers in Wongok-Dong filled the labour market gap left by the departing Koreans. According to Park and Jung (2004), three factors explain the inflow of foreign migrants to

¹⁵ Source: Park and Jung (2004)

¹⁶ According to Park and Jung (2004), the population in Wongok-Dong decreased from over 34,000 at the end of 1980s to less than 20,000 in 1995.

the town. Firstly, the geographical position of Wongok-Dong was an important pull factor (Park and Jung, 2004). Wongok-Dong is the best place to live for commuting not only to the Banwal but also the Shiwha industrial complex (See Figure 2). More specifically, foreign migrant workers who live in the town can easily commute by bus in a short space of the time. Furthermore, migrant workers staying in dormitories of the company in the Banwal or Shiwha industrial complexes can easily access Wongok-Dong for various purposes such as buying their own food and international calling cards or meeting friends. These advantages also benefit undocumented foreign migrants who want to minimise their exposure to the authorities.

Figure 2. Location of Wongok-Dong in Ansan¹⁷



In addition, inexpensive dwellings played a pivotal role in attracting foreigners to Wongok-Dong. The town was developed for single Koreans working in the Banwal industrial complex and the housing market met the demands of the workers by providing comparatively cheap multiplex houses called 'beehives' (see figure 3).

¹⁷ Source: Park and Jung, 2004

Figure 3. A multiflex house in Wongok-Dong



The inflow of foreign migrants to Wongok-Dong was triggered by its location and inexpensive housing in the first stage. After the initial migration into the area, the presence of numerous foreigners became the crucial factor in attracting more migrants to Wongok-Dong. The concentration of foreign workers contributed to the development of social networks among them. Moreover, it led to the growth of various service sectors such as ethnic restaurants, grocery stores and so forth for foreign migrants. On the main street of Wongok-Dong, in fact, there are a lot of ethnic restaurants originating from various countries such as China, Indonesia, Vietnam, Thailand, and Pakistan and mobile phone shops advertising their products in various languages (see figure 4). Due to the existence of these services, foreign migrants decide to move from other regions in Korea to the town. For example, Ardi, who was one of my interviewees, said that one reason for his immigration to Wongok-Dong was:

The first time, I went to Daegu and worked there. But there were not Indonesian restaurants or my friends. I had a very tough time there. But, I heard about Wongok-Dong from my friends. I decided to come here. Now, I'm so happy. There are a lot of my friends and Indonesian restaurants too. (Ardi, 37 years old from Lombok)

Hence, development of service sectors in this area triggered foreign migrants.

Figure 4. Ethnic restaurants and shops in Wongok-Dong¹⁸



Figure 5. Mobile phone shop in Wongok-Dong¹⁹



¹⁸ Source: My own.

¹⁹ Source: My own.

In brief, Wongok-Dong has experienced a mass inflow of foreign migrants who replaced Korean workers. On a macro level, changes to the political and economic regime in Korean society were important factors in explaining the influx of foreign workers to Wongok-Dong. On micro level, foreign workers came to the town for its location, cheap housing, social network and facilities. Therefore, Wongok-Dong became the biggest foreign migrants' town in Korea. In 2010, there were 36,745 registered foreigners from 69 countries living in Ansan (See table 1) including foreign migrant workers, marriage migrants and Kosians²⁰.

Table 1. Registered foreigners by top five nationalities²¹ in Ansan city (2010)²²

Nationality	Total	Unskilled worker	Marriage migrant	Student	Visitor
Korean Chinese	20,922	17,777	1,273	31	1,841
Chinese	4,182	629	1,746	442	1,365
Vietnamese	2,387	1,787	536	9	55
Filipino	1,536	1,360	88	0	88
Indonesian	1,495	1,469	14	1	12
Uzbekistanis	1,389	1,389	38	5	30
Total	36,745	27,561	4,054	645	4,485

BUILDING A 'BORDERLESS VILLAGE'

Koreans living in Wongok-Dong originally felt inconvenienced by the influx of foreign migrants. However, over the years Koreans in the town gradually realised the need to accept foreign migrants as local villagers. On the basis of this atmosphere in the town, in 1999 one of the civic organisations established 'a campaign to build a Borderless Village'.

²⁰ Kosian (Korean + Asian) defined as second generation born to a Korean and other Asian spouse.

²¹ Korean Chinese included in China.

²² Source: Ansan city (2010) website.

The campaign received media attention as the nation's first project to construct a multicultural social community in Korea and Wongok-Dong came to be known as 'Borderless Village'. The campaign also transferred attention on the issues of foreign migrants in Korea from abstract concepts such as human and labour rights to the issues of community life (Oh, 2011) and the need to achieve harmonious coexistence in Wongok-Dong.

Domestic civic organisations have played a key part in the efforts to create 'Borderless Village'. These civic organisations emerged in the 1990s and have rapidly increased in number over the following decades in Wongok-Dong. Their main objective is to provide counselling for workers (related to unpaid wages), medical services and shelter for unemployed and laid-off workers. In addition to efforts to improve labour conditions, these organisations have endeavoured to build a multicultural community through various activities. For instance, 'Town cleaning day' was held to provide chances for all inhabitants in Wongok-Dong to meet regardless of their nationality. Moreover, these organisations have tried to create bonds between foreign migrants and Koreans by holding multicultural festivals such as '*Oegukin Oulim Hanmadang*' (Foreign Workers Together), 'Wongok-Dong World Cup', and 'Meeting Night of Wongok-Dong'. Rallies, started by civic organisations to demand fair policy for foreign migrants and protection against deportation, have also played an important role in binding Koreans and foreign migrants together (Oh, 2011).

Figure 6. Foreign migrants' Song Festival in Wongok-Dong²³

In addition, the Korean government has also made efforts to build Wongok-Dong as a multicultural society. Ansan City has taken a favourable stance toward foreign migrants in applying policies in response to the regional economic conditions. In 2005, Ansan City established the 'Migrant Support Centre', a special department only for foreign migrants. It was the first one established in the nation. After that, it was developed as the Ansan Foreign Migrant Community Support Centre (AFMCSC)²⁴ in 2008. To protect the human rights of foreign migrants, 'The Human Right Ordinance for Foreigners' was established in 2009. Based on this, the AFMCSC provides counselling services to foreign migrants regardless of their legal status in response to problems in work and daily life. Moreover, Korean government officers from the AFMCSC prepare education programmes, such as Korean language classes, understanding of multiculturalism and computer skills, to help marriage migrants and foreign workers' social adaptation. Besides this, people in Wongok-Dong can enjoy multicultural festivals, experience Korean traditional culture and sport activities such as Taekwondo, football, badminton, volleyball and so forth. Under these

²³ Source: My own.

²⁴ In 2010, nineteen Korean government officers were working in the AFMCSC.

circumstances, in 2009 the Korean Ministry of Knowledge and Economy designated Wongok-Dong as a 'multicultural special area'.

In summation, there have been many efforts to make 'Borderless Village' in Wongok-Dong. Civic organisations and the AFMCSC provide opportunities for social contact among people in Wongok-Dong through festivals, rallies, education programmes and sports activities. Ansan was the first city to attempt to build a special space for integration between people with different social backgrounds in Korea.

THE LIMITATIONS OF BUILDING A 'BORDERLESS VILLAGE'

In spite of the activities aimed at building a 'Borderless Village', people still struggle to build intercultural connections in Wongok-Dong (Park, 2011; Oh, 2011). One Indonesian migrant who had been living in Korea for more than ten years expressed his regret:

Several years ago, I met a lot of people who were Koreans and migrants from various countries in Wongok-Dong. Especially, we had many demonstrations in front of Ansan station. We sang and shouted together. It was very fun. At that time, Koreans who were working in the centre (civic organisations) helped us a lot. In addition, I made many friends who were from Vietnam, Pakistan, and Philippines there. However, this situation does not exist now. Relationship with Koreans in the centre is not special. I miss the good old times. (Mati, 38 years old, from Jakarta)

While foreign migrants can obtain support to solve various problems from civic organisations and the AFMCSC, the quote above indicates a change in social relationships among people in the town. In Wongok-Dong, spontaneously performed collective behaviours such as demonstrations had helped to overcome the differences in language and 'cultural' practices arising from nationality (Oh, 2011). However, Mati stresses his experience of the diminishing social bonds amongst subjects in Wongok-Dong. In this regard, Oh (2011) insists that the intervention of the Korean government changed the pre-

existing order in Wongok-Dong. Originally, collective behaviours such as various festivals, demonstrations, sports activities and ‘Town cleaning day’ were predominantly managed by civic organisations in Wongok-Dong. However, this regional structure transformed after the Korean government started its ‘multicultural project’ (Park, 2011) and Ansan City established the AFMCSC and started various activities such as festivals, medical support and counselling services for foreign migrants in the town. There was a clear overlap between the activities of the AFMCSC and the civic organisations. As a result, the existing activities of the civic organisations decreased or were integrated into regional government. In this context, the government incited civic organisations to compete to obtain projects for supporting foreign migrants. For this reason, civic organisations have to make great efforts to obtain contracts from the government rather than focusing on foreign migrants’ welfare (Seo 2009; Park, 2011).

The transfer of responsibility for these activities from civic organisations to government also meant that foreign migrants lost ownership of attending events. After intervention from the government, collective behaviours that used to be spontaneously initiated by the people in Wongok-Dong, started to be organised by the government. The scale of these activities has grown due to government support. Yet, the activities have lost vitality (Park, 2011). What I observed from various events during my fieldwork was a focus on showmanship rather than on building social relationships among the people in Wongok-Dong. Foreign migrants should have been the main subject of these ‘produced event’ but they were reduced to the role of guest rather than host. In this respect, one Bangladeshi migrant explains that, “foreign migrants are not equally treated as a subject by people of civic organisation. They regard us as a tool or people who should be mobilised (for the events). We are there since their request but they do not let us know what we do and where we go” (Oh, 2010: 217). That is, foreign migrants are excluded from the events that were

previously created and occupied by them. In other words, foreign migrants have become passive participants in these government-led events.

On the basis of this, foreign migrants have focused on the activities of their national community rather than activities held by the government. Although foreign migrants can be mobilised for the multicultural events held by civic organisations and the AFMCSC, they use these organisations to develop their national community. In other words, foreign migrants can build rapport with Koreans in the AFMCSC and civic organisations through joining the multicultural events. Based on this rapport with Koreans, foreign migrants have obtained executive and financial supports from the AFMCSC and civic organisations. That is, foreign migrants actively participate to have enhance their own activities. Hence, they separately sustain their life according to nationality while taking advantage of the opportunities in Wongok-Dong. In this regard, the heterogeneous Indonesian migrant group has opportunities to enhance national solidarity in the context of Wongok-Dong.

THE INDONESIAN MIGRANT GROUP AS A 'HETEROGENEOUS GROUP'

Many languages, many cultures, many races, one nation. (Grief, 1998 cited in Harvey 2005: 23)

BACKGROUND OF THE INDONESIAN HOMELAND

Indonesia is the most complex single nation in the world due to the great diversity of both its geographical environments and its people (Drake, 1989). Indonesia is made up of more than 13,000 islands and stretches a distance of 5,200 kilometres from Aceh in Sumatra at the west end of the archipelago to Papua New Guinea at the east end. It is the fourth most heavily populated nation in the world with a population of 230 million inhabitants.

There are more than 300 ethnic groups in Indonesia; Javanese is the dominant ethnic group followed by Sundanese and Maduranese. Each ethnic group has its own language, customs and cultures. There are more than 700 local languages spoken by local Indonesians. Bahasa Indonesia is the official national language, used as a *lingua franca* among Indonesians of various ethnic groups; however, they often use their local language as a first language. There are many religions practiced in Indonesia such as Christianity (both Protestant and Roman Catholic), Buddhism, Hinduism, Confucianism and Islam – the dominant religion. Hence, Indonesia is a complex society characterised its by geographic, linguistic, ethnic and social heterogeneity (Neher, 2002).

This social heterogeneity within Indonesia is the result of the country's European colonial heritage²⁵. Osborne (2004) argues that the borders of Southeast Asia were fixed during the European colonial periods. Indonesia consisted of many autonomous districts governed by different tribes before the colonial periods. However, these different districts were dominated as one region under Dutch colonial rule. The Dutch administrative system, based on the existing regions of different ethnic groups within the archipelago, was taken over and kept substantially intact by the new Indonesian government when it gained independence in 1945.

Due to the tremendous diversity of the Indonesian population, since independence, the new Indonesian government and nationalists have endeavoured to achieve integration amongst Indonesians who have different social backgrounds under the Indonesian motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity). The Indonesian government had to enhance shared national characteristics by increasing national consciousness. To achieve this, first, Bahasa Indonesia was adopted as the official language to achieve interregional

²⁵ Although Britain (1811 to 1816) and Japan (1942 to 1945) dominated Indonesia for several years, the Dutch had Indonesia under its colonial rules for 350 years.

communication among people speaking different local languages. Secondly, the government encouraged participation in national culture and values through common educational experiences (Drake, 1989). Thirdly, *Panca sila* (the Five Principles) were established as a national ideology in 1945 to minimise conflicts amongst Indonesians with different social backgrounds and achieve national integration. The Five Principles are as follows:

- (i) belief in the one and only God
- (ii) just and civilised humanity,
- (iii) unity of Indonesia,
- (iv) democracy guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst representatives
- (v) social justice for all the people of Indonesia.

The first principle presents monotheism. According to this principle, people who live in Indonesia have to believe in one God although they should respect and cooperate with people with other religious beliefs. The second principle deals with humanism or internationalism and requires equality. In other words, all people in Indonesia should believe in equality and also have equal rights and responsibilities. Thus, mutual respect and cooperation with other nations are necessary to Indonesians. The third principle presents nationalism. According to this, Indonesians have to regard Indonesia as one nation and motherland. In addition, '*Panca sila*' nationalism demands that Indonesians should not allow social or ethnic differences to distract them from national unity. The fourth principle handles representative government or democracy, which dictates that deliberation (*musyawarah*) must be used to reach a consensus (*musfakat*). The final principle represents social justice and emphasises the fair spread of welfare to all Indonesians.

In brief, Indonesia consists of people with different characteristics in terms of ethnicity, language usage, religious belief and cultural practice. For this reason, the Indonesian government has endeavored to achieve unity through establishing a national

language and education and by using national symbolism as part of the process of building a nation. Each Indonesian has, thus, been exposed to an environment that encourages integration. Hence, within Indonesians lies the possibility of a latent tendency towards national identity.

INDONESIANS IN WONGOK-DONG

The diversity of the Indonesian population in the homeland is reproduced by Indonesian migrants²⁶ in Wongok-Dong. Table 2 is comprised of several characteristics of my informants. As we can see, there are differences amongst Indonesian migrants in terms of regional origin, ethnicity, language usage and religion. Even though Javanese is the biggest ethnic group amongst Indonesian migrants, there are other groups such as Sundanese, Makassarnese, Sasak and so forth in Wongok-Dong; various local languages are spoken by Indonesian migrants and there are just as many diverse religious affiliations amongst the Indonesian migrants in Wongok-Dong. Indonesian Muslims established their *masjid* (mosque) called *Sirothol Mustaqim*, which enables them to practice Indonesian Islamic beliefs, while the Antioch International Community²⁷ is the Christian church for Indonesian migrants in Wongok-Dong.

²⁶ Although there are Indonesian marriage migrants, most Indonesian immigrants are unskilled workers who have an E-9 visa or undocumented workers who have lost their visa status in Wongok-Dong. Foreign immigrants who hold E-9 visa under the EPS can stay a maximum of 4 years and 10 months as a migrant worker. Their workplaces should be 3D job positions such as primary, manufacturing, construction and fishery industries. Undocumented workers previously had E-9 status or emigrated under the ITS and overstayed. I will explain why people become undocumented workers in Chapter 7.

²⁷ Even though there are Indonesian Christians from Sumatra and Central Java in this church, most of its members are from Manado (North Sumatra). For this reason, this church has the characteristics of a hometown community for people from Manado.

Table 2. Selected Indonesian migrants' characteristics in Wongok-Dong²⁸

	Region	Hometown	Hometown community	Hometown Language	Ethnicity	Religion
A	Central Java	Kendal	Kendal	Javanese	Javanese	Islam
B	Central Java	Seragen	Seragen	Javanese	Javanese	Islam
C	East Java	Blitar	Blitar	Javanese	Javanese	Islam
D	East Java	Kediri	Joyo boyo	Javanese	Javanese	Islam
E	West Java	Bandung	Parayangan	Sundanese	Sundanese	Islam
F	Sulawesi	Gorontalo	None	Gorontaloese	Gorontaloese	Islam
G	Sulawesi	Makassar	Kosmis	Makassarness	Makassarness	Islam
H	Sulawesi	Manado	AIC	Minahasa Melayu	Minahasa	Christian
I	West Nusa Tenggara	Lombok	Galok	Sasak	Sasak	Islam
J	West Nusa Tenggara	Lombok	None	Sasak	Sasak	Islam
K	West Nusa Tenggara	Bima	Gabim	Bima	Bima	Islam
L	Sumatra	Lampung	None			Islam
M	Sumatra	Palembang	KBS			Islam

On the basis of social heterogeneity within the Indonesian migrant group in Wongok-Dong, Indonesian migrants established their respective *paguyuban*, which consists of people who have similar social backgrounds. Indonesian migrants' lives revolve around their *paguyuban* in Wongok-Dong. At the time of my research I was aware of nineteen *paguyubans*²⁹ (see table 3).

²⁸ Source: my own

²⁹ Detailed information on the activities of the *paguyubans* is discussed in Chapter 5.

Table 3. Indonesian hometown communities in Ansan

Region		Name of Community
East Java	Blitar	PETA
	Ponorogo	PONOROGO
	Banyuwangi	IKABA
	Kediri	JOYO BOYO
	Trenggalek	PUTRA TUNGGAL
	Malang	AREMA
Central Java	Pati	PATINSAN
	Cilacap	ORBOS
	Purwodadi	PURWODADI
	Sragen	SRAGEN
	Kendal	BAHUREKSO
	Brebes	KOMBES
West Java	Bandung	PARAHYANGAN
	Serang	BADUI
	Cirebon, Indramayu	CIBERS
Lombok	Lombok	GALOK
Sumatra	Palembang	KBS
Bima	Bima	GABIM
Sulawesi	Sulawesi	KOSMIS

Indonesian migrants usually participate in activities with members of their *paguyuban*. However, on occasions they also participate in gatherings that extend beyond the boundaries of their *paguyuban* based on something in common with other Indonesians (See Table 2). For example, Indonesian migrants used to participate in demonstrations against the crackdowns on illegal migrants in Korea. Moreover, Muslim Indonesian migrants have established and take part in religious events such as *Tabliah Akbar* (the great sermon) and *Idul Fitri* (the celebration that marks the end of *Ramadan*). In addition, they join in the event

named 'One Indonesia day' as an Indonesian in Wongok-Dong. Hence, Indonesian migrants have a multilayered identity and can choose their position in Wongok-Dong depending on the circumstances.

In short, Indonesian migrants in Wongok-Dong reproduce the characteristics of Indonesians in the homeland. On the one hand, Indonesian migrants formally reveal the diversity of the Indonesian population by establishing their *paguyuban* in Wongok-Dong. On the other hand, Indonesian migrants have collective behaviours beyond their hometown membership in Wongok-Dong. In this regard, they arrange each identity, such a regional origin, ethnicity, use of language, religious belief, Indonesian and foreign migrant, by responding to various circumstances in Wongok-Dong.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have provided contextual structures to enable further discussions in this thesis. More specifically, I have looked at the characteristics of Korea as a perceivably homogeneous country, various efforts to build a multicultural community in Wongok-Dong and the heterogeneity of the Indonesian migrant group.

Korean society has strengthened its ethnic nationalism throughout history. Against this background, Korea imported foreign migrant workers to solve labour shortages through establishing guest worker programmes. However, the arrival of foreigners became challenging for Korean society. Koreans feared that the increased presence of foreign migrant workers would progressively decrease the perceived homogeneity of Korean society. Therefore, foreign migrant workers are treated as temporary workers and not as people for integration under the Korean government policies. In addition, foreign migrants are economically and socio-culturally excluded in Korea.

Even though Korean society takes a negative view of integrating foreign migrants into society, there are many efforts to overcome this in Wongok-Dong. After the influx of numerous foreign migrants into Wongok-Dong, the town became the biggest foreign migrants' area in Korea and there have been various activities aimed at building a 'Borderless Village'. However, government interventions have caused the disappearance of spontaneous collective behaviours amongst people in Wongok-Dong. As a result, people in Wongok-Dong have difficulty building social relationships beyond their national group (Oh 2010, 2011; Park, 2011).

Although there are difficulties in building intercultural connections beyond nationality in Wongok-Dong, the Indonesian migrant group as a heterogeneous group has the possibility to make intercultural connections in the special context of Wongok-Dong. While the Indonesian migrants show their diversity by building *paguyubans*, they also transcend these primordial bonds to practice joint behaviours in Wongok-Dong.

On the basis of the contextual structures of Korea and Wongok-Dong, I suggest that investigation of the Indonesian migrant groups is meaningful in evaluating integration between people with different social backgrounds. The chief characteristic of the Indonesian migrant group can be defined as its social heterogeneity. Indonesian migrants are exposed to totally different environments in Korea compared to their homeland. As a result, each Indonesian migrant displays different patterns of interactions with Indonesians who have different social backgrounds through encountering numerous situations in Korea.

CHAPTER 3. LITERATURE REVIEW: TOWARD APPRECIATION OF DISTINCT INTEGRATION PATTERN OF INDONESIAN IMMIGRANTS IN KOREA

INTRODUCTION

Different theories have been developed to explain the process of integration of immigrants into the host society. However, the relevance of these theories is questionable for my research due to the features of the Indonesian migrant group (e.g. social cleavages within the group, patterns of identity formation and temporary guest worker status) and the specialness of Wongok-Dong as a multicultural village that does not represent Korea more broadly. The purpose of this research is to investigate the role of social capital and diaspora identity in Indonesian immigrants' transnational activities and their integration. In this chapter, I will discuss the relevance of these concepts to the aims of my research.

The chapter starts by reviewing the existing research on Wongok-Dong and the immigrants who live there. The second part discusses the theoretical development of classical and contemporary concepts of integration, which provides the foundations for this research. Thirdly, I discuss the concept of diaspora and ethnicity to clarify the features of the Indonesian migrant groups with social cleavages in Wongok-Dong. Fourthly, I will apply the concept of social capital to obtain a deeper understanding of various types of Indonesian immigrants' social capital. Finally, I choose the concept of transnationalism to

examine Indonesian immigrants' integration issues. More specifically, I analyse transnational activities as social outcomes that are yielded by social capital in order to make a contribution to the discussion of the relationship between immigrants' transnational activities and integration into the host country.

THE LITERATURE ON WONGOK-DONG

Since the late 1990s, Wongok-Dong has gained a reputation as the biggest foreign residential district in Korea. For this reason, many researchers have endeavoured to clarify various aspects of the town, such as the possibilities for building social relationships among people of different nationalities, criticisms of multicultural policies in Korea and immigrants' strategies for sustaining their livelihoods.

Many researchers initially focused on the possible advent of an 'alternative society' in Korea, presenting the building of relationships among people with different social backgrounds and insisting that these relationships could contribute to the formation of a special multicultural space in the context of an homogeneous Korean society. In this regard, Park and Jung (2004) examine the way in which foreign migrant workers in South Korea have been 'forgotten' and 'marginalised' in the regulatory politics of globalisation, and how the 'politics of forgetting' has influenced the formation of local immigrant communities in Wongok-Dong. This study analyses the impact of the processes of exclusion and inclusion from local society on foreign migrant communities. On the basis of these activities, there is speculation as to whether this space might turn into a ghetto or a multicultural place in the near future.

While the research addressed above focuses on the transformation of Borderless Village through the exclusion and inclusion of foreign migrants, Lee (2005) focuses on

how foreign migrant workers overcome social exclusion in Borderless Village. He points out that migrant workers overcome social exclusion with the help of people who have the same ethnic background and of other ethnic migrants and Koreans. Therefore, he insists that Borderless Village bears the characteristics of an ‘alternative community’ in South Korea. Lee (2008) also examines the changes for native residents after migrant people flow into their community. Through a progression of shared events and close relationships, native residents have had an opportunity to understand the migrant workers’ situation. Thus, they have learned to control their fear of foreign migrants and have endeavoured to achieve co-existence in Borderless Village. Additionally, Harvey (2005) presents detailed information about exclusion and inclusion issues for foreign migrants in Korea through examining the Indonesian migrants’ identity negotiation in the ‘Borderland’³⁰ of Wongok-Dong. According to her, Korean society has a cultural ideology which stresses “one blood and one people” in a homogeneous country. It produces dominant discourses that treat foreign migrants as either cultural pollution or unfortunate victims. Although Borderland is a space that has transnational flows of people, ideas and cultures across cultural boundaries, Korean society simply divides people into ‘legal’ and ‘illegal’, ‘citizen’ and ‘alien’ and ‘Korean’ and ‘foreigner’ to minimise Korean national anxieties and stabilise the identity of immigrants within Korea. In this view, Koreans perceive Indonesian migrants as ‘others’ who simply have a legal or an illegal status. These dominant discourses affect the identity negotiations of Indonesian migrants in Borderland. Indonesian migrants who have proper legal status endeavour to focus on personal achievements such as learning the Korean language and obtaining various experiences rather than financial gain³¹. On the other hand,

³⁰ She defines Wongok-Dong as a ‘Borderland’ and points out that this place has possibilities for the intersection of intercultural communication, identity and culture.

³¹ Although she conducted interviews with returned migrants who had professional jobs before emigrating to Korea, she mainly focused on interviewing ‘illegal’ Indonesian migrants in South Korea.

illegal Indonesian migrants attribute the causes of their illegal status to the rude and impolite behaviour of Koreans such as bosses and co-workers³². In other words, Indonesian migrants insist that their illegality is not their fault but that of others. At the same time, Indonesian migrants use *nasib* (fate) to account for their current 'illegal' status. Thus, they negotiate their identity from a marginalised position in South Korea. These stories of oppression become resources to encourage the construction of a collective identity of solidarity. In this regard, Harvey describes how the ETU–MB (Equal Trade Union–Migrant Branch), an illegal migrant workers' union, provides opportunities for constructing a collective identity among a diverse community of migrant workers from nearly 100 different countries living and working in South Korea. That is, shared experiences are constructed through membership of the ETU–MB. Therefore, Indonesian migrants can negotiate their identity beyond their nationality and ethnicity.

Although these studies present opportunities for building unique social relationships in Borderless Village and illustrate the town as the best foreign migrant residential space possible under the conditions of Korean society, several researchers (Oh 2010, 2011; Park, 2011; Seo, 2009) insist that the relationships between people in Wongok-Dong have weakened due to interventions of government (See Chapter 2). In these regards, Oh (2010, 2011) criticises the multicultural policies practiced in Wongok-Dong, which are determined by the Korean government and external factors. He defines this phenomenon as 'multiculturalism from above' and insists that people (native and foreign migrants) in Wongok-Dong are neglected in the policy-making process. As a result, many researchers point out that a changing social structure in Wongok-Dong has negatively affected the building of a multicultural town.

In addition to these studies, there is research that deals with the immigrant group in

³² The reasons for becoming illegal will be described in Chapter 7.

Wongok-Dong without discussion of multiculturalism and integration issues. You (2011) focuses on how Indonesian migrants, who are not permanent residents, endeavour to maintain stability within a transnational space. He argues that Indonesian migrants adopt particular strategies through building a social network and circulating money and information between Indonesia, Korea and other Asian countries to sustain re-migration to other foreign countries in the world.

In sum, existing research can be summarised as talking about several issues: the possibility of integration through building social relationships among people who have different social backgrounds in Borderless Village; criticism of multicultural policies in Korea; and Indonesian migrants' strategies for creating a sustainable livelihood through transnational activities. However, these studies have several limitations. First, they do not explore the current conditions for building social relationships among people in Borderless Village. Research on Borderless Village published in the early 2000s insists that there were possibilities to make an 'alternative society' in Korea. However, studies after 2009 addressed the difficulties of producing intercultural relationships among people in the town. In studies from the early to mid-2000s, several issues such as foreign migrants' human rights, social exclusion, inclusion, and their image as a victim or threat were discussed with reference to Borderless Village. Later research reflects the changes in Korean society brought about by the transition from the foreign migrant worker import system to the ITS (Industrial Trainee System) to the EPS (Employment Permit System) and the Korean government's policies to promote a multicultural society. Hence, there are opportunities to create new social outcomes such as making relationships among people.

Second, previous research does not deal with the possibilities for making intercultural connections *within* the national immigrant community in Borderless Village. That is, it regards each immigrant group as internally homogeneous and overlooks their

dynamic attributes. Several researchers (Seo, 2009; Park; 2011; Oh, 2010, 2011) criticise the multicultural policies of Korean government in Wongok-Dong. As I addressed above, they insist that the involvement of the Korean government caused negative consequences, such as destroying social relationships between people, and the transformation of the social order through their co-opting of civil society groups. However, the Indonesian migrant group consists of people of different heritages as evidenced by their geographical, linguistic, ethnic and social heterogeneity. Even though there are difficulties in creating relationships with people of other nationalities, opportunities still exist to create bonds between foreign migrants of the same nationality in Borderless village.

Finally, foreign migrants are treated as passive subjects in several studies. Researchers cite the harsh conditions, such as disappearing welfare for foreign migrants and the massive government crackdown on illegality in Borderless Village, as reasons to explain why foreign migrants want to leave the town. In addition, Harvey (2005) argues that Indonesian migrants accept their harsh conditions as fate in Korea. Nonetheless, foreign migrants intensify solidarity to overcome problems through various strategies. Although You (2011) presents detailed information on Indonesian immigrants' strategies for surviving in Korean society, this study alone is not enough to illustrate Indonesian migrants as active players in Borderless Village.

To overcome these limitations, this research focuses on the Indonesian immigrant group that has specific social cleavages in the present context of Borderless Village. Indonesian migrants belong to isolated and integrated sub-national communities through the shared heritages of pre-migration periods or shared experiences during post-migration periods. This new perspective on Indonesian migrant groups enables this study to overcome the limitations of existing research. On the basis of the concept of integration, more specifically, I can analyse the maintenance of or changes in Indonesian migrants'

identity using the concepts of diaspora and ethnicity. Examining these issues can uncover the mechanisms for making a social relationship that can yield social capital. Based on this, I endeavour to show various strategies to adapt to conditions in Korean society by focusing on ‘transnationalism from below’ (Smith and Guarnizo, 1999). Investigating these issues will help to inform policy-making about the need not only to redefine societies but also to attain a deeper understanding of the relationship between the features of Wongok-Dong and immigrants beyond the existing literature.

INTEGRATION

Although there are various approaches to understanding the adaptation of immigrants to the host society, here I will discuss the perspectives of classical assimilation theory and multiculturalism for examining the theoretical development of the concept of integration.

Several scholars emphasise the straight-forward adaptation of immigrants to the mainstream of the host society (Park, 1914; Gordon, 1964). Until the late 1960s, the term ‘assimilation’ was used in social science to explain this process. Park (1914) first theorised the concept of assimilation, which he considers as the end stage in a race relations cycle, an unavoidable process initiated by contact, and followed by accommodation and then assimilation. Thus, Park (1928) regards assimilation as a natural process that reduces social and cultural heterogeneity. However, this view does not consider structural barriers in the process of assimilation. In this regard, Warner and Srole (1945) insist that institutional factors play an important role in determining the rate of assimilation of immigrants. They argue that even though the differences in social status and economic opportunities, caused by a lack of understanding of cultural values and language skills, will disappear over the generations, social mobility is determined within racially-cast boundaries. These are based on the identifiable features of a minority groups such as skin colour, language of origin

and religion. These outstanding factors of immigrants contribute to determining the level of assimilation. On the basis of these ideas, Gordon (1964) presents one of the most influential works of classical assimilation theory. This work is based on the study of immigrants in the United States in the early twentieth century. In this theory, Gordon provides a typology of assimilation that includes cultural, structural, marital, identificational, attitude-recreational, behaviour-receptional, and civil assimilation. According to him, immigrants have to adapt themselves to the receiving country by assimilation or acculturation³³. Although acculturation is most important to the adaptation of immigrants, achieving acculturation does not automatically mean that migrants are assimilated into the host society. In other words, structural assimilation is crucial for this to happen. Gordon believes that the stages of assimilation are hindered by the characteristics of ethnic groups. A common perspective of assimilationism is this insistence that distinctive ethnic features, such as old customs, language of origin and ethnic enclaves, discourage the assimilation of immigrants into the host society.

However, classical assimilation theory has been strongly criticised since the early 1960s. Glazer and Moynihan (1963) in their influential book, *Beyond the Melting Pot*, argued that many immigrant groups achieve different paths of assimilation through maintaining their cultural patterns in the host society.

On the basis of this, the concept of multiculturalism, which strongly rejects the assumptions of assimilation, has been developed. Stephen Castle (2000:5) suggests that multiculturalism concerns “abandoning the myth of homogeneous and mono-cultural nation-states” and “recognizing rights to cultural maintenance and community formation,

³³ The concept of acculturation was introduced into migration studies from cultural anthropology. Redfield, Linton and Herskvoits (1936) defines the term as the phenomenon that results when groups of individuals from different cultures come into contact, transforming the original patterns of one or both groups.

and linking these to social equality and protection from discrimination.” In these ways multiculturalism represents a kind of corrective to assimilationist approaches and policies surrounding the national incorporation of immigrants (Grillo, 1998, 2000; Faist, 2000). In other words, immigrants could be successfully integrated into the host society without destroying their cultural heritages.

There is a wide literature on the subject of multiculturalism (Favell, 1998; Kymlicka, 1995; Mood, 2007). However, Steven Vertovec (1998, 2001b) points out that multiculturalism is associated with various discourses, institutional frameworks and policies that invoke the term in rather different ways. This confused conceptualisation leads to numerous criticisms. In this regard, Grillo (1998:195) presents six identified problems with multicultural theory and practice: (1) multiculturalism’s implicit essentialism; (2) the system of categorisation which underpins it; (3) the form that multicultural politics takes; (4) the ritualisation of ethnicity often associated with it; (5) the elision of race and class that it appears to entail; (6) the attack on the common core that it represents. “Many of these criticisms”, Grillo (*ibid*) observes, “stem from a focus on culture”. Vertovec further describes culture as “a kind of package (often talked of as migrants’ ‘cultural baggage’) of collective behavioural-moral-aesthetic traits and ‘customs’, rather mysteriously transmitted between generations best suited to particular geographical locations yet largely unaffected by history of a change of context, which instils a discrete quality into the feelings, values, practices, social relationships, predilections and intrinsic nature of all who ‘belong to (a particular) it’” (Vertovec, 1996: 51). In this perspective, multiculturalism encourages an essentialist understanding of culture (see Baumann, 1996).

In response to the criticism of essentialism in the multicultural approach, this research contributes to a new perspective on immigrant integration patterns in the host society. That is, changing and maintaining immigrant’s cultural patterns are differently

shown when examining an immigrant group with social cleavages. Each Indonesian migrant maintains or transcends their original cultural patterns in the host society. However, maintaining cultural patterns does not mean necessarily the persistence of Indonesian features. In addition, changing their cultural patterns does not imply that Indonesian immigrants achieve assimilation into Korea. On the basis of these features of the Indonesian immigrant group, the context of Wongok-Dong provides its own perspective on the immigrant integration issue. Wongok-Dong can be regarded as an alternative society rather than as representative of Korean society. In Wongok-Dong, numerous immigrants have transformed not only the town's physical circumstances but also its atmosphere³⁴. Furthermore, new social orders are created by the experiences of people from a variety of countries. Achieving integration into Wongok-Dong does not mean assimilation into the mainstream society. From this perspective, Indonesian migrants create a specific pattern of integration in Wongok-Dong. To investigate this, the next section deals with the concept of diaspora and ethnicity to clarify the features of the Indonesian migrant group.

DIASPORA AND ETHNICITY

In the 1990s, diaspora research became the main area of scholarship aiming to understand international migration. However, the word diaspora is not an everyday word. Although people who study history, demography, political science, economics and sociology may know the term, people may not understand its exact meaning outside of academia.

The word 'diaspora' is derived from the Greek verb *speiro* 'to sow' and the preposition *dia* 'over'. The ancient Greeks used the word 'diaspora' to describe migration

³⁴ See Chapter 2

and colonisation.³⁵ For the Greeks, this word had positive connotations of expansion through military conquest, colonisation and migration. This original concept of a diaspora can be applied to late European expansionist settlements of the mercantile and colonial periods.

However, the notion of diaspora has since become more negative through its use in describing the forced dispersion of people from their homeland to their countries of exile, as is the case for the African, Armenian, Jewish and Palestinian diasporas. For these, ‘diaspora’ means collective trauma and banishment. Of course, the most famous case of this collective trauma is that of the Jewish diaspora. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, diaspora refers to the setting of “scattered colonies of Jews outside of Palestine after the Babylonian exile, or Jews living outside Palestine or modern Israel.” The forced diasporic experiences that cause collective trauma are central to the classic concept of diaspora.

Diaspora is today used as a comprehensive concept that integrates international migration, expatriation, refugees, labour migrants, ethnic communities, cultural diversity, and the identity of other ethnic groups beyond the Jewish experience. Several scholars point out the proliferation of the term within academic and non-academic sectors (Brubaker, 2005; Vertovec, 2009). In terms of the proliferation of the word beyond its classic conceptualisation, Vertovec (2009: 131) points out that diaspora represents “a core dilemma faced by any dispersed or transplanted people: how to survive as group”:

The contemporary common usage of the word ‘diaspora’ which links the word to the experience of the Jewish people in their exile to Babylon and their dispersion through the Mediterranean world, is too exclusive an application. Viewed as a mass migration or movement or flight from one location or locations, diaspora could be viewed as an event in the history of several peoples of antiquity.

³⁵ The Greek colonisation Asian Minor and Mediterranean in the Archaic period (800–600 BC).

Clearly the fact of dispersion and its many consequences have been an experience of many people, ancient and modern. Major issues for investigation include the question of whether, and how, those 'dispersed' peoples maintain a sense of self-identity and a measure of communal cohesion. The central question for diaspora peoples is adaptation: how to adapt to the environment without surrendering group identity. These questions faced by the diaspora communities of antiquity are still apparent in modern times. (Shaye et al, 1993, cited in Vertovec 2009: 131)

In this regard, Safran (1991) defined diasporas as "expatriate minority communities". On the basis of this definition, Tölölian (1991: 3) has added that "the term that once described Jewish, Greek, and Armenian dispersion now shares meanings with a larger semantic domain that includes words like immigrant, expatriate, refugee, guest workers, exile community, overseas community, ethnic community".

After the concept of diaspora gained interest in academic discourses, it was necessary to define the conditions of diaspora. In regard to this, Safran (1991: 83–4) has offered several characteristics: (1) dispersion from a specific original 'centre' to two or more peripheral, or foreign, regions; (2) collective memory, vision, or myth about their homeland; (3) belief that they are not fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel alienated and insulated from it; (4) the view that their ancestral homeland is a place to which they or their descendants will eventually return; (5) commitment to the maintenance or restoration of their homeland; and (6) maintaining their relationship to their homeland and their ethnic communal consciousness and solidarity. Based on this formula, Cohen (1997) added four additional elements: (1) the inclusion of those groups that scatter voluntarily or as a result of fleeing aggression, persecution or extreme hardship; (2) the need for a sufficient time period to have passed before any community can be described as a diaspora and indications that a transnational community's strong links to the past will thwart assimilation in the present as well as the future; (3) a recognition of the more positive aspects of diasporic

communities, for example, the tensions between ethnic, national and transnational identities that can lead to creative formulations; (4) acknowledgement that diasporic communities not only form a collective identity in the place of settlement or with their homeland, but also share a common identity with members of the same ethnic communities in other countries. In a similar vein, Brubaker (2005) outlined three major factors – dispersion, holding on to a strong orientation towards homeland and boundary maintenance – as constitutive elements of diaspora.

Safran, Cohen and Brubaker present useful characteristic models to understand diasporic phenomenon. However, diaspora may or may not share all of these features. Clifford (1994) has pointed out that, “we should be wary of constructing our working definition of a term like diaspora by recourse to an ideal type” (1994: 306). Thus, to understand various types of diaspora, we have to consider diaspora as a concept of degree rather than a matter of black and white.

In this sense, there is another aspect that describes geographical displacement or de-territorialisation of identity in the contemporary world. Although there have been many attempts to build ideal-type definitions of diaspora, they are not enough to explain the dynamic characteristics of diaspora in a vibrant transnational context. Several scholars emphasise hybridity, fluidity, creolisation and syncretism as features of diaspora (Brah, 1996; Hall, 1993). While Safran, Cohen and Brubaker stress that maintaining strong links with their homeland and their distinctive identities in the host society are important features as a diaspora, Hall (1993: 355) points out that these links and the ideal of returning to their homeland are much more precarious than usually thought since their homeland may have changed beyond recognition. Not only is ‘back home’ likely to have been transformed through the processes of modernization, but diasporas themselves are deeply affected by globalisation. In this sense, there is no going home. More specifically, Hall

insists that diaspora is the product of a “diasporic consciousness” where identity “is always ... open, complex, unfinished – always under construction” (Hall, 1993: 362). Diasporas can be placed in new psychological and cultural spaces that are distinguished from their home and host countries. Their identities are reformulated by sociocultural relationships in the host society. Therefore, they can formulate new identities that have different characteristics from those of the pre-migration period. In this regard, Tölölyan describes how “diasporic identity has become an occasion for the celebration of multiplicity and mobility – and a figure of our discontent with our being in a world apparently still dominated by nation-state” at the transnational level (1996: 28). “Diaspora has arisen as part of the postmodern project of resisting the nation-state, which is perceived as hegemonic, discriminatory and culturally homogeneous” (Vertovec, 2009: 127). In these perspectives, on the one hand Indonesian migrant groups try to maintain a strong link to their homeland through maintaining their identity rather than endeavouring to adapt themselves to life in Wongok-Dong. On the other hand, there are also opportunities to transform their identity through forming social relationships with people and engaging with their changed circumstances in the host country.

However, in all these studies, the diaspora group is assumed to be homogeneous. Wimmer and Glick Shiller (2003) highlight a tendency towards methodological nationalism in migration studies. According to them, methodological nationalism can be identified in three variants: (1) ignoring or disregarding the fundamental importance of nationalism for modern societies; this is often combined with (2) naturalization, i.e., taking for granted that the boundaries of the nation-state delimit and define the unit of analysis; (3) territorial limitation, which confines the study of social processes to the political and geographic boundaries of a particular nation-state (Wimmer and Glick Shiller. 2003: 577-578). On the basis of this, they (2003: 598) criticises the past errors of transnational community studies

as such: “much of transnational studies overstates the internal homogeneity and boundedness of transnational communities, overestimates the binding power for individual action, overlooks the importance of cross community interactions as well as the internal divisions of class, gender, region and politics, and is conceptually blind for those cases where no transnational communities form among migrants or where existing ones cease to be meaningful for individuals”. In a similar vein, Anthias (1998: 564) points out that “such [diaspora] populations are not homogeneous for the movements of population may have taken place at different historical periods and for different reasons, and different countries of destination provided different social conditions, opportunities and exclusions”. In addition to this, she insists that “they may have formed different collective representations of the group under local conditions ... the extent to which they organise around cultural symbols, develop ethnic cultural organisations and promote their ethnic identity will be diverse” (Anthias, 1998: 564). In focusing on diaspora groups at the transnational level, however, Anthias’ work does not deal with homogeneity issues among diasporas within one destination. Despite the similarities in conditions in the host societies that can be experienced by each diaspora from one nation-state, diaspora groups in one destination country also have social cleavages in terms of ethnic group, language usage, cultural practice and religion.³⁶ The Indonesian diaspora in Korea has these features. As I described in the previous chapter, the Indonesian migrant community consists of people of different heritages, as evidenced by their geographical, linguistic, ethnic and social heterogeneity. Indonesia can be defined as a plural society. In this kind of society, “secessionism is usually not an option and ethnicity tends to be articulated as group competition” (Eriksen, 2002: 15). For this reason, it is important to clarify the features within a diaspora group in order to answer the question of how Indonesian diaspora groups build their boundaries in the

³⁶ For detailed information, see Chapter 2

host society.

To answer this question, I apply the concept of ethnicity. The term 'ethnic' refers to "a named human population with myths of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more elements of a common culture (e.g. religion, customs, language), a (frequent) link with a homeland and a sense of solidarity among at least some of its members" (Hutchison and Smith, 1996: 6). In other words, ethnicity implies membership of ethnic communities and their culture, as well as emotional attachment among its members. Therefore, ethnicity constitutes the features of a certain group that they use to distinguish themselves from others.

Three approaches have been developed in understanding the concept of ethnicity: primordialist, instrumentalist and situational. Primordialism holds that ethnicity is something inherited, natural to an individual, and therefore non-negotiable and irresistible (Geertz, 1963). In contrast, many scholars, taking an instrumentalist position, argue that ethnicity is socially constructed rather than primordial or natural (Anderson, 1983; Brass, 1991; Barth, 1969; Cohen, 1969). Among the instrumentalists, Barth (1969) observes that ethnicity is a kind of social organisation that draws and reproduces group boundaries; ethnic groups are premised upon "categories of ascription [by others] and identification by the actors themselves" (1969:10). In this regard, Barth emphasises that both powerful outsiders and group members delimit group boundaries. Therefore, boundary-drawing and identifying membership of a particular group is achieved through social processes rather than inherited or given by birth. As a further dimension, Anderson in his influential book, *Imagined Communities* (1983), argues that it is imagined that people commonly shared language and historical memories, while Eriksen (2002) points out that histories and genealogies are always written in selective ways for political and other purposes, as they are essential in the creation of ethnic identity. In this view, ethnic identities, groups and beliefs

of shared culture and history are consciously constructed.

However, these approaches do not deal with the rational choices of individuals, instead they focus on normative (primordialism) and structural (instrumentalism) explanations. To address this, a situational approach³⁷ based on rational choice theory has been presented. According to this approach, ethnicity is created by particular situations. Individuals may choose to be a member of an ethnic group to obtain a profit. In this regard, Banton (1994) observes ethnicity as a rational choice option of an individual to achieve public goods in any context. Okamura (1981) describes the actor's flexible ascription of ethnic identity to organise the meaning of his or her social relationships by responding to social situations.

Each of these approaches is meaningful, I argue, in explaining the features of Indonesian migrants' ethnicity in Korea. Indonesian migrants maintain their boundaries based on a shared cultural belief, collective identity and sense of solidarity that is formulated during pre-migration periods. On the other hand, they also transcend their boundaries through encountering new circumstances during post-migration periods. Although the Indonesian migrant group has social cleavages, it has been exposed to the Indonesian elite's promotion of nationalism after independence. For this reason, Indonesian migrants present their hidden national identity to adapt themselves in Korea beyond their primordial bonds. In addition, each Indonesian wants to achieve their personal goals by using various opportunities that can be obtained in Korea. It enables them to transcend boundaries by making social relationships with people with the same personal objectives.

These perspectives enable us to understand dynamics within one diaspora group and

³⁷ Although there are differences in emphasis between instrumentalism and situationalism, these approaches commonly regard identity as a social composition that is affected or formed by relationships with others.

various features of diaspora. First of all, we can correct assumptions of homogeneity within particular diaspora. Based on this, a new perspective can be found by investigating two approaches to diaspora that stress hometown-orientation and hybridity. Clifford in his article 'Diaspora' (1994) considers that the diaspora process subverts the idea of the modern state. As I addressed above, diasporic understanding, focusing on multiplicity of identity and hybridity in a transnational context, can challenge fixed identity that is orientated to a specific homeland. Many scholars (Clifford, 1994; Hall, 1990, Brah, 1996) insist on identity negotiation as a feature of diaspora. As a result, this phenomenon subverts the traditional concept of the nation-state as homogeneous. However, a totally different outcome can be produced when we apply the notion of hybridity to the heterogeneous diaspora groups such as the Indonesian migrant group in Korea. Namely, the Indonesian diaspora group has the possibility to strengthen its national identity in Korea through transforming its identity. For example, Indonesian migrants with strong primordial bonds can unite with each other to achieve common interests or profits by resisting or using various circumstances in Korea. The process has the possibility to contribute to building national identity beyond primordial bonds.

Although these perspectives are helpful to understanding the ethnicity of Indonesian migrants in Korea, each has its limitations and only by combining them can the complex phenomenon of ethnicity be fully explained. In terms of primordialism, it is difficult to explain the fluid nature of ethnic boundaries if one assumes that ethnicity is given and inherited. In addition, such an approach has a limited ability to deal with the situational quality of ethnic identity at the individual level. Moreover, crucially it neglects the different social contexts and individual motives that can affect ethnicity itself. Meanwhile, an instrumentalist approach fails to consider the cultural and psychological dimensions of ethnicity by regarding ethnicity as a politicised or mobilised group identity. As a result, it is

difficult to distinguish ethnicity from other collective group identities. Although there are limitations to primordialist and instrumentalist approaches to ethnicity, they both allocate ethnicity as a cultural feature through objective conditions or subjective perceptions. Primordialists stress that ethnic and cultural features play an important role in determining political and economic status; instrumentalists maintain that the ethnic and cultural features of a group or individual are selected or invented for political and economical purposes.

The primordialist and instrumentalist approaches to ethnicity complement each other and, I suggest, Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* makes a bridge between the two positions. In this regard, Jones (1997) insists that Bourdieu's *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977) in which he developed the notion of *habitus* provides the solution to understanding ethnicity through the relationships between objective conditions and subjective perceptions. Jones (1997: 88) states that "the *habitus* is made up of durable dispositions towards certain perceptions and practices (such as those relating to sexual division of labour, morality, tastes, and so on), which become part of an individual's sense of self at an early age, and which can be transposed from one context to another." Under practice theory, ethnicity is neither a static reflection of culture, nor a product that is developed by social interaction and boundary maintenance. Instead, "the intersubjective construction of ethnic identity is grounded in the shared subliminal dispositions of the *habitus*, which shape, and are shaped by, objective commonalties of practice ... shared *habitus* engenders feelings of identification among people similarly endowed" (Jones, 1997: 90). That is, *habitus* is multidimensional in different social contexts. Therefore, ethnicity can be regarded as being that continually positioning identity within these different social contexts. Individuals are viewed as social agents acting strategically in the pursuit of interests. Collectively, ethnicity is viewed as a shared disposition of *habitus*. In this regard, an Indonesian migrant group has latent identity. As I described above, they reveal one of their identities such as regional

origin, ethnic group, usage of language, religious belief, Indonesian and foreign migrant in response to various circumstances in Wongok-Dong. Hence, ethnicity can be analysed by combining the primordial and instrumentalist approaches with the concept of *habitus*.

In sum, examining the relationship between diaspora and ethnicity using the case of the Indonesian migrant group in Korea provides two angles. First, it clarifies the homogeneity within diaspora group and provides a different perspective on the hybridity of the diaspora group and the nation-state. Second, it creates a bridge between two different approaches (hometown-orientation and hybridity) to diaspora by using the concepts of ethnicity and *habitus*.

Investigating these issues raises the question of how positioning diaspora identity produces social outcomes in the host society. To answer this question, I will apply the concept of social capital. Indonesian migrants who have latent identity endeavour to build social relationships with people by positioning that identity to obtain political and economic profits in Wongok-Dong. In other words, Indonesian migrants maintain or extend their networks in Wongok-Dong by maintaining or transforming their identity. Access to different types of social capital (Bonding/Bridging/Linking) is therefore determined by the specific features of the Indonesian diaspora. Thus, examining this issue will contribute to a deeper understanding of the Indonesian diaspora group in Korea.

SOCIAL CAPITAL

Social capital has been the subject of study since the 1980s. Although most scholars agree that social capital influences societal outcome, they emphasise different functions for it. To begin with, Bourdieu is often regarded as the creator of social capital theory (Banron et al. 2000). He defined social capital as the “aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised

relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu, 1986: 246). People can accumulate reciprocal relationships that lead to productive lives for that individual through networking. Portes (1998: 3) argues that “Bourdieu’s definition makes clear that social capital is decomposable into two elements: first, the social relationship itself that allows individuals to claim access to resources possessed by their associates; and second, the amount and quality of those resources”. However, Bourdieu realised that although people are able to overcome obstacles to obtain their needs and wants through social capital, it can also create social exclusion and inequalities (Bourdieu, 1986). In other words, dominant classes with many kinds of capital can use social capital for reinforcing and reproducing their social status.

Even though Bourdieu focuses on how the dominant class reproduces its social status, he is also interested in how subordinate groups might seek to raise their socioeconomic status by the development of, or investment in, different kinds of capital beyond the economic (Bourdieu, 1986). In this context, Tariq Modood (2004) points out that families lacking in economic capital may be able to use other capital to achieve their educational objectives and goals. This other capital may refer to social and cultural capital³⁸ embedded in social networks. Bourdieu’s research emphasises factors that are influential in building social capital, such as social networks and shared norms and values. Moreover, for the researcher, Bourdieu presents a useful theoretical framework for building analytical connections between wider social structures, power and ideology.

Coleman (1990) is interested in the role of social capital in the creation of human capital (individual abilities) and educational achievement (Baron et al. 2000). He defines social capital by its function, not as a single entity but as “a variety of entities having two

³⁸ According to Gould (2001), cultural capital is a form of social capital produced by shared cultural activities such as celebrations, rites and intercultural dialogue in community gatherings. Thus, it enhances relationships among people.

characteristics in common: they all consist of some aspect of a social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure” (Coleman, 1990: 302). Like Bourdieu, Coleman insists that people can cope with economic weakness through strong forms of social capital in the form of family norms, values and networks as well as a broader set of community values and networks, which promote particular educational goals. However, there are criticisms about the often vague definition of social capital (Baron et al. 2000; Portes, 1998). Portes (1998: 5) insists that “it is important to distinguish the resources themselves from the ability to obtain them by virtue of membership in different social structures, a distinction that is explicit in Bourdieu but obscured in Coleman”. While Bourdieu presents the concept of social capital to explain the continuation of social inequality, Coleman endeavours to explain the different allocations of social capital resources in communities such as family and social organisations.

While Bourdieu and Coleman focus on social capital at the individual level, Putnam deals with the national and community levels. In his book *Making Democracy Work* (1993), he shows how different levels of social capital influence governmental or economic performance in Italy. This research focuses on the relationship between cultural traditions in each region and the volume of social capital. He defines social capital as “features of social organisation such as trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated action” (Putnam, 1993:167). Thus, the cultural and organisational features of society are able to contribute to governmental and economic performance.

Even though social capital influences social outcomes, a major limitation of some interpretations of social capital is its failure to adequately address issues of power and structural inequality (Schuller, Baron and Field, 2000). As I described above, Bourdieu (1986) insists that social capital yields social exclusion and inequality among individuals or

groups due to different allocations of the sum of resources. Social capital plays an important role in producing positive social outcomes for in-group members but it also strengthens and reproduces inequality in the wider world (Field, 2008). Different ends, achieved through social capital, may be facilitated by exclusive categories such as one's ethnic group, class or gender.

Even though social capital influences social outcomes, different types of social capital lead to different ends. In this regard, Putnam (2000) suggests two types of social capital – bonding and bridging. Bonding capital refers to within-group connections. This type of social capital is often created in ethnic enclaves where immigrants maintain their connections with people who have the same social background such as ethnic, religion and regional origin. Bridging social capital refers to connections between different and heterogeneous groups. In other words, networks with people who have different social backgrounds such as ethnicity, race, culture and other social cleavages (Grant, 2001). In migration literature, this type of social capital is formed through the building of social relationships between immigrants and natives (Lancee, 2010). Although the concepts of bonding and bridging social capital successfully divide the concept of social capital into two parts, there is a limitation to these approaches through their stress on horizontal connections. In this regard, Woolcock (2001) identified a variant of bridging social capital that he named 'linking' social capital, characterised by connections between those with differing levels of power or social status. Linking ties may include those to civil society organisations (NGOs, voluntary groups), government agencies (service providers, the police), representatives of the public (elected politicians, political parties) and the private sector (banks, employers) (Grant, 2001). Linking social capital also includes the capacity to leverage resources, ideas and information from formal institutions beyond the community.

The different types of social capital have different implications. Putnam (2000), for

example, insists that bridging social capital is more important than bonding capital in getting ahead. As bonding social capital tends to produce exclusive identities and homogeneous groups, in this sense, it can lead the reinforcement of in-group identities and engender marginalised groups. However, bridging social capital can contribute to the process of integration through formulating social relations that enable immigrants to assess external assets and information in the host society. Although bridging social capital plays a pivotal role in enhancing access to additional resources, it has the limitations that come with horizontal networks. Bridging social capital does not consider the lack of resources in some groups, (Wakefield and Blake, 2005) or problems of the different allocation of the sum of resources among various groups due to an uneven financial or power position. For this reason, linking social capital, which can be produced between people in dissimilar situations, overcomes the limitations of bridging social capital.

Bonding social capital can be used to explain the entrepreneurship associated with the socioeconomic mobility of ethnic minorities (Sanders and Nee, 1996: Portes and Zhou, 1992: Waldinger, 1986). In other words, ethnic groups obtain entrepreneurial outcomes that are shaped by their networks within their ethnic communities. In addition, this type of social capital theory has been used to understand the academic performance of Asian Americans such as Vietnamese and Chinese (Bankston and Zhou, 2002: Zhou: 1997, 2005). In this approach, social norms and values in ethnic enclaves have contributed to the production of ethnic social capital. However, the formation of ethnic social capital can cause isolation due to the lack of interaction with native people in the host society. Building relationships with the native population can reduce social discrimination (Mowu, 2000) and mean that immigrants can better access much-needed specific resources in the host society (Portes, 1998). Therefore, the building of bridging social capital can yield positive impacts for immigrants in the host society.

From earlier discussions, many scholars regard the main components of social capital as trust, networks, norms of reciprocity, relationships and values. Even though these elements enable us to analyse social capital, these components as analytical tools can be used differently according to the different levels of research. I believe that the most important task for this research is how Indonesian immigrants yield social capital to sustain their lives in Wongok-Dong. In this regard, I define social capital as social outcome which is produced by components such as networks, relationships, social support, shared norms and trust. Even though I included various components of social capital for this research, each component may not work independently to analyse Indonesian migrants' social capital. In other words, these elements of social capital are complexly incorporated in all empirical chapters rather than existing on their own. To analyse of social outcome, thus, I endeavoured to combine these components to illustrate the whole picture of the Indonesian migrants' social capital rather than focusing on investigation by each.

In addition to this issue, social capital approaches have limited use in the case of the Indonesian migrants in Borderless village. First, they do not pay attention to the existence of social cleavages within a national immigrant group and they do not consider the possibility of building bridging social capital within a national immigrant group. Second, opportunities for building 'hidden bridging social capital' through linking social capital are neglected. Linking social capital can be used as a bridge among Indonesian migrants who have different social backgrounds. Although the allocation of resources derived from Indonesian migrants' social capital is uneven, this has no relevance due to the features of the Indonesian migrant group (*habitus*) and the Wongok-Dong context as a multicultural village. In this regard, existing research which stresses not only the different distribution of resources in each type of social capital but also its different social outcomes are not able to explain the case of Indonesian migrant group in Wongok-Dong.

Indonesian immigrants have endeavoured to overcome their harsh conditions through building social capital within the host society. They have generated both types of social capital – bonding and bridging – with people who have the same and different social backgrounds. Indonesians build bonding social capital based on their shared heritages such as ethnicity, regional origin and religion. According to Oh (2007), Indonesian immigrants in Korea tend to form communities through their common features. In other words, the formation of Indonesian communities and the exchange of social support are determined by their pre-migration identity. However, they also have the possibility to form bridging social capital with Indonesians, other national migrants and also Koreans who have different social backgrounds. Even though they integrate into Wongok-Dong by building social relationships through participation in various events, the building of bridging social capital with foreign migrants who have different nationalities is limited due to a lack of Korean language skills.

Instead, linking social capital (as a part of bridging social capital) can be produced among Indonesian migrants through relationships with Koreans and Indonesians who have a different social status in Korea. Even though Indonesian migrants endeavour to adapt themselves by building social capital in Korea, access to proper assets is limited by their status as foreign migrants in Korea. Basically, Indonesian migrants in Korea are not only unskilled foreign workers but also people who come from a poor country. Because of these features, they are regarded as unwelcome guests in Korea³⁹ and have difficulty obtaining various resources such as information, extra job opportunities and so on that can be produced by relationships with Koreans. It means that obtaining Korean networks can be a powerful resource among Indonesian migrants. Although each Indonesian migrant had a

³⁹ See Chapter 2 for more information about social exclusion issues toward foreign migrant workers in Korea.

different social status during pre-migration periods, they all have same status, as a TKI (Tenaga Kerja Indonesia: an Indonesian labour migrant) working in unskilled labour sectors, in Korea. Obtaining Korean networks enables Indonesian migrants to secure resources that are difficult to acquire within Indonesian networks and elevates their social status within the Indonesian migrant group by giving them the ability to distribute various resources obtained from Korean networks. Using their powerful position, they endeavour to find extra opportunities. Even though Indonesian migrants who have Korean networks can use their upgraded status in Korea to achieve further objectives, obtaining Korean networks depends on securing Indonesian networks beyond bonds with *Kawan sekampung* in the Wongok-Dong context. In this regard, Indonesian migrants use their Korean networks to yield 'hidden bridging social capital' with Indonesians who have a different social background in Wongok-Dong.

Under these circumstances, Indonesian immigrants are creating a 'new Indonesian identity' in Wongok-Dong. Building 'hidden bridging social capital' can develop more intense connections with their home country rather than mitigating their transnational activities by achieving integration within Indonesian migrants' group which has social cleavages. This research provides a new perspective on the role of bridging social capital in the host society through investigating Indonesian immigrants. Moreover, it will give an alternative understanding about the relationship between transnational activities and immigrants' integration. In this regard, the next section deals with transnationalism and integration of Indonesian migrants in Wongok-Dong. Examining this issue will provide a concrete understanding of the 'hidden bridging social capital' of Indonesian migrants.

TRANSNATIONALISM

Although there are various definitions of transnationalism, Glick Schiller et al. (1992:1)

have defined transnationalism as “the process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement”. In other words, transnationalism is the situation of migrants being connected to the country of origin and to the new country of residence through social, economic, political and cultural webs of connections brought about by the the movement of people.

Portes (2003: 875) argues that transnationalism refers to the “cross-border activities of private grassroots actors, including immigrants”. In a similar vein, Smith and Guarnizo (1999) point to ‘transnationalism from below’ as something that occurs across two or more national states, and attempt to clarify the transnational character of social relations and daily life activities. Transnationalism is related to the new social space created by marginalised people and groups travelling across borders and, in this regard, Smith (1992) insists that it is necessary to understand cross-border activities and social relations through marginalised people’s daily practice to analyse the transnational context.

The various transnational practices that occur between home and host countries can be categorised in terms of economic, political and social-cultural activities (Portes, 2001). For example, economic transnational activities include remittances, ethnic businesses, and collective transfer of resources and goods to local communities (Al-Ali et al, 2001; Guarnizo, 2003). Examples of political transnationalism include electoral participation, political affiliations and political mobilisation in the host countries (Al-Ali et al, 2001: 621; Guarnizo et al, 2003: 1214). Examples of socio-cultural transnational activities include visiting and maintaining contact with family and friends in the home country, joining organisations in the county of settlement or origin and participating in cultural activities (Al-Ali et al 2001).

Vertovec (2009: 77) describes how “early discussions of migrant transnationalism tended to suggest that sustained, cross-border connections represented an alternative to

assimilation". In other words, migrants would choose isolation from the destination countries and conduct transnational activities as a self-adaptation strategy rather than assimilate themselves into the host society. However, transnational activities can be seen as an alternative tool for enhancing immigrants' adaptation to the host society. In this perspective, Portes (2001: 188) argues that transnational activities "can alter, in various ways, the process of integration to the host society of both first-generation immigrants and their offspring". Nonetheless, it is not clear whether immigrants' transnational activities improve integration into host countries or not. Several studies have shown that transnational activities enhance social adaptation in the host society (Portes, 2001; Portes, Haller & Guarnizo, 2001; Guarnizo, Portes & Haller, 2003). Others have focused on the negative consequences of transnational activities for adaptation into the host society (Cohen and Sirkeci, 2005).

Indonesian migrants have tried to make social, economic, political and cultural connections with their home countries. These include making remittances, initiating ethnic business, visiting and maintaining contact with their family and friends in their home country, joining organisations, and participating in cultural festivals. Through these efforts, they manage their life in Borderless village. As such, transnational activities are regarded as crucial resources. Although integrated Indonesians who have networks with Koreans and outside of their own *paguyuban* easily claim opportunities to hold transnational activities through building linking social capital, isolated Indonesians who have limited relationships outside of their *paguyuban* can only access various transnational activities with the assistance of integrated Indonesians. In this regard, I suggest Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*, already discussed in the previous section, might clarify these issues. Indonesian immigrants' *habitus* plays an important role in performing transnational activities. Integrated Indonesians, who can easily access the resources to perform transnational activities, can then distribute these

resources to isolated Indonesians rather than keeping all the economic and social profits for themselves. On the other hand, isolated Indonesians freely consume the resources that are distributed by integrated Indonesians through stressing one of their proper identities such as Indonesian or Muslim rather than *paguyuban*. Therefore, Indonesian immigrants who have latent identities create positive social outcomes by responding to various circumstances.

In this context, the Indonesian immigrant group achieves a new integration pattern in Wongok-Dong. Although each Indonesian migrant shows different patterns of building social capital, the resources acquired from social capital become accelerators to the integration process *among* Indonesian immigrants. Thus, Indonesian migrants achieve integration within Wongok-Dong by performing transnational activities. However, integration within the Indonesian migrant group brought about by strengthening transnational activities, simultaneously leads to isolation from mainstream Korean society since Wongok-Dong is not representative of Korea. This perspective contributes to a contested relationship between transnationalism and integration.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has explored some of the theoretical themes that underlie the research problems addressed by this study. First of all, I reviewed the existing research on the features of Wongok-Dong and on the immigrants who live there. This research illustrates several aspects:, such as the possibilities of building social relationships among people who have different social backgrounds in the settlement, criticisms of multicultural policies in Korea, and foreign migrants' strategies for building sustainable livelihoods through engaging in transnational activities. Although there have been many efforts to clarify the

features of Wongok-Dong and foreign migrant's lives in this special town, there are some limitations with this body of work. In particular, by presuming immigrant groups to be internally homogeneous, these studies do not consider the possibilities for intercultural connections *within* a national immigrant community. In addition, in much of the literature, foreign migrants are treated as passive subjects who must adapt themselves to life in Wongok-Dong. Therefore, even though these studies have endeavoured to examine the issues of integration that arise from building social relationships, and the migrants' adaptation strategies, further work is needed to overcome their limitations. For this reason, I applied the concepts of integration, diaspora, ethnicity, social capital and transnationalism to the case of the divided Indonesian migrant group in Wongok-Dong.

I also discussed the concept of integration to set up the foundation of this research. Classical assimilation theory (Gordon, 1964) focuses on the change to immigrants' cultural patterns affected by new circumstances in the host society. However, the theory of assimilation has been criticised because the assimilation of immigrants is not necessarily a linear development (Glazer and Moynihan, 1963). In contrast, multiculturalism emphasises the integration of immigrants into the host society without the disturbance of immigrants' cultural patterns. However, a tendency towards cultural essentialism in multicultural perspectives is identified as a problem (Baumann 1996, Grillo, 1998). From this perspective, this research aims to uncover new immigrant integration patterns through focusing on an Indonesian migrant group that has social cleavages in the unusual context provided by Wongok-Dong as a migrant town.

The concepts of diaspora and ethnicity were then critically discussed to provide a theoretical framework for investigating the Indonesian immigrant group in Wongok-Dong. According to diaspora theories, 'hometown-orientation' and 'hybridity' are both stressed as key features of diaspora. Based on my research on the Indonesian migrant group within

Wongok-Dong, I argue that these perspectives alone cannot explain outcome of boundary maintenance and transcendence of Indonesian diaspora group. Thus, I applied the concept of ethnicity to investigate the relationship between the features of diaspora and the heterogeneous Indonesian immigrant group. Furthermore, while the primordialist and instrumentalist perspectives on ethnicity enable us to examine aspects of boundary maintenance and transcendence, they should be combined to explain the ethnicity of the Indonesian migrant group in Wongok-Dong. Each Indonesian migrant has various identities such as nationality, ethnic group, regional origin and language usage, and they allocate one of these identities in response to a variety of circumstances. Thus, I suggested the concept of *habitus* to explain this constant change in their ethnicity. Understanding the place of ethnicity in the Indonesian diaspora contributes to our understanding of the role of social capital in the lives of Indonesian migrants in Wongok-Dong.

The concept of social capital is crucial for clarifying the features of the Indonesian diaspora in terms of yielding social outcomes in Wongok-Dong. There are three types of social capital – bonding, bridging and linking – each of which produces different social outcomes. According to Putnam (2000), bridging social capital is more important than bonding social capital for immigrants to get ahead. Namely, extending their network enable them to access various information and resources (e.g., job opportunities) beyond primordial bonds. Although Indonesian migrants satisfy this perspective, this is not used for integrating themselves into Wongok-Dong society but for extending their Indonesian networks beyond primordial bonds to obtain extra profits in Korea. That is, examining the role of bridging social capital with Indonesian migrant group challenges existing frameworks (Mowu, 2002, Putnam, 2000) that stress the importance of the relationship with natives for achieving integration into the host society. Instead Indonesian migrant groups build linking social capital with Koreans in Wongok-Dong. Using this social capital,

some Indonesian migrants can secure resources that are rarely produced within Indonesian groups. Even though Indonesians and Koreans provide resources for each other to achieve their goals in Wongok-Dong, this exchange eventually enhances bonds between Indonesian migrants from different social backgrounds. Therefore, linking social capital with Koreans produces possibilities to build 'hidden bridging social capital' among Indonesian migrants themselves.

Understanding patterns of building social capital among Indonesian migrants helps us to understand the relationship between immigrants' transnational activities and integration. On the one hand, transnational activities could hinder immigrant integration. On the other hand, transnational activities could improve integration into the host society. Yet, although these perspectives are clearly divided into two parts, I suggest that these views can coexist through investigation of the Indonesian immigrant group in Korea. Each Indonesian performs different patterns of building social capital. As a result, they each have differences in terms of assessing opportunities to perform transnational activities. However, both integrated and isolated Indonesian migrant group members can enhance their transnational activities through *habitus*. Based on this, I present a contribution to understanding the relationship between transnationalism and integration by discussing the features of the Indonesian migrant group in Wongok-Dong.

The conceptual links between integration, diaspora, ethnicity, social capital and transnationalism that I have outlined in this chapter may help to provide a means to understand the patterns by which the socially divided Indonesian migrant group achieves integration and adaptation in Korea through social relationships. Based on this, we can say that there is a new understanding of the pattern of immigrants' integration in the host society beyond existing concepts.

CHAPTER 4. METHODOLOGY

This study adopts a multiple research method approach, including the use of participant observation (including investigating Indonesian immigrants' Facebook activity) and interviews (informal conversation, semi-structured interview). The purpose of this chapter is to present the rationale for the overall research design, including how this research was conducted and how data was generated and interpreted. In addition to this, ethical issues and research challenges will be discussed.

As I pointed out above, the purpose of this research is to investigate the relationship between Indonesian immigrants' transnational activities and their integration through the role of social capital and diaspora features in Wongok-Dong. It explores transnational Indonesian immigrants' life in Borderless village and examines the context, meanings and motivations of their transnational involvements, how they maintain or transcend their boundaries as members of the Indonesian diaspora, and the role of social capital in these relationships. For this research, I focus on the everyday lives of Indonesian migrants in Borderless village rather than using statistical analysis. While qualitative research techniques have limitations in terms of the generalisation of findings, gaining access to the field and ethical issues, qualitative research methods were still the most appropriate for this research, as they enabled me to collect in-depth data about dynamic activities within Indonesian immigrants' communities in the Borderless village context.

ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH

Ethnography is defined as “the study of people in naturally occurring settings or ‘fields’ by the methods of data collection which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting” (Brewer 2000: 6). To conduct ethnographic studies, several methods such as participant observation, interviewing and personal documentation are normally used for data collection.

In terms of the purpose of ethnographic research, Smith (1998) insists on not only the need to understand the social meaning of people in their space but also on generating thick description. This approach is helpful in dealing with cultural specificity, historical background, and the “messy particular time of life in specific times and place” (Jackson, 2002: 504). Through thick description, ethnographic research can obtain “vivid, dynamic and process portrayals of lived experience” (Atkinson et al, 2001: 229).

Thus, there are several advantages to using ethnography in my research. Ethnographic research contributes to a deepened understanding of people’s behaviour in everyday contexts compared to conditions created and controlled by researchers (Hammersely, 1998). Moreover, researchers can develop their research relationships due to staying for long periods in the research site. Hence, this offers a deep understanding of detailed social relationships in context. However, there are several limitations to this approach, which I will discuss in the following section.

RESEARCH SITE

My fieldwork was conducted in Wongok-Dong⁴⁰, a suburb of Ansan City known as

⁴⁰ See Chapter 2 for more detailed information about the multicultural aspect of the town.

Borderless Village, which has the characteristics of an ethnic enclave within Korea. It is a social space in which immigrants from varying social backgrounds can interact with each other. Migrants in this residential district are not only able to exchange social support among immigrants of the same nationality in their quest to achieve social adaptation but also have opportunities to build social relations with immigrants from other nationalities and ethnicities, or even with Koreans. In this context, I conducted my research from October 2010 to September 2011, staying in a rented one-room apartment in Ansan City, a five to seven minute bus ride away from town.

RESEARCH SUBJECTS

Indonesian immigrants and Koreans were my research subjects for this study. First, I mainly investigated Indonesian immigrant groups. Although there are various types of Indonesian immigrant groups – such as unskilled workers, marriage migrants, university students and professional workers – in Korea, I focused on migrant workers who were working in small and medium-sized factories. This decision was due to several factors: the large number of labour immigrants⁴¹ among Indonesian immigrants in Wongok-Dong and their status as temporary visitors under the Employment Permit System (EPS). These conditions enabled me to examine their dynamic activities in Wongok-Dong. To further elaborate this research frame, I also adopted *paguyuban* (hometown communities) and integrated Indonesian communities (the ICC, AKTIS and Indonesian Muslim group) as subjects of research. As I described in previous chapters, the Indonesian immigrant group consists of nineteen *paguyubans*. Involving each *paguyuban* enabled me to gain an understanding of the diversity within the Indonesian immigrant population. Investigating

⁴¹ See Table 1 in Chapter 2.

in more integrated Indonesian communities provided chances to understand their endeavours to unite Indonesian groups with social cleavages. It was also helpful to clarify the boundary-making processes of Indonesian immigrants who have different social backgrounds; this was key to understanding the role of social capital. Second, I chose to study Koreans who were connected, in various ways, to the daily lives of Indonesian immigrants in Wongok-Dong. Koreans who were working in civil society organisations, local government, or were owners of Indonesian restaurants/shops provided information about their activities in supporting foreign immigrants in Wongok-Dong. Furthermore, I could obtain stories about Indonesian immigrants' daily life from talking to these groups. Through relating to Korean subjects, I realised the importance of the existence of Indonesian immigrants to them. Thus, I could elaborate the role of social capital links between Koreans and Indonesians. It enabled me to capture the distinct multicultural nature of Wongok-Dong and formulate a new perspective on immigrants' integration in the host society.

RESEARCH METHODS

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

Participant observation is a data-collection method wherein the researcher participates in the informant's daily life and shares their life experiences (Silverman, 1993). Over the course of my fieldwork, I stayed in Wongok-Dong and did various activities in the town. In the early period of the fieldwork, I worked as a voluntary worker for two civil society groups⁴². Then, I regularly stayed in Indonesian restaurants, the ICC (Indonesian

⁴² Civil society groups in Wongok-Dong have performed various activities for foreign migrants. They contribute to solving foreign migrants' difficulties such as delays in receiving wages, violence in the workplace and industrial accidents. Moreover, education (specifically Korean language) and cultural

Community in Corea) office, *Shirotol Mustaqim* (the Indonesian mosque or Masjid), the Antioch International Community (AIC: Indonesian Christian church). Based on these positions, I could walk around, take pictures, talk to people, and participate in a variety of Indonesian immigrants' activities. More specifically, I could participate in not only various events such as Indonesian immigrants' formal/informal meetings, cultural festivals and religious activities (Muslims and Christians) but also other performances in their daily life.

Through participation, first, I tried to understand the general context of Wongok-Dong and of Indonesian immigrants' everyday life. It enabled me to capture the basic features of the town as a transnational and multicultural place. In addition, I had the chance to obtain clues about Indonesian immigrants' processes of building social relationships and the features of their transnational activities to achieve deep understanding of Indonesian immigrants in Wongok-Dong.

Second, I focused on core concepts such as boundary making and social capital in my research through discussable observation. In specific places such as restaurants, religious facilities, the ICC office and in immigrants' homes, I observed the relationship between boundary making and the development of social relationships among Indonesian migrants that could yield social outcomes. Some of the questions I asked myself during these observation periods were: who visits the place/who they are⁴³, what do they do, what do they talk about, what social outcomes are produced among immigrants? Focusing on these questions provided data on the relationship between immigrants' identity and the features of the particular place. In fact, there were distinctions in terms of maintaining or

activities (such as multicultural festivals and the Wongok-Dong World Cup) are performed by this organisation.

⁴³ Although, at first, I did not know Indonesian immigrants' personal details such as their hometown, job, academic background, legal status, previous job in Indonesia and so on, I could obtain this information by informal conversation or interview.

transcending Indonesian immigrants' boundaries according to place⁴⁴, which influenced the building of social capital.

In socio-cultural festivals/events such as One Indonesian Day, Idul Fitri (Muslim religious ceremony), the ICC cup (Indonesian football competition), Town Cleaning Day, and various multicultural festivals/events (Wongok-Dong World Cup, Foreign migrant workers' Song Festival)⁴⁵, I focused on exploring the possibilities of integration among people who had different social backgrounds. Especially, I had questions such as: what is the objective of these activities, who or which organisation supports these activities, who are the participants in these activities, do social relationships between people who have different social backgrounds build due to these activities, what social outcomes are yielded by the activities? These questions enabled me to realise not only the multicultural features of the town but also the mechanisms for putting on Indonesian immigrants' transnational festivals/events. Based on these observations, the data generated became gradually deeper, more situational, and specific. As time went by, I could distinguish whether the phenomena surrounding Indonesian immigrants in Wongok-Dong were important or not. Identifying the importance of a phenomenon enabled me to ask further questions. Therefore, I was able to develop more clear categories for my research.

In addition to this, I remained in the field for a long period of time through participant observation. This allowed me to form relationships with Indonesian immigrants and Korean informants. Thus, I could proceed to undertaking interviews.

REFLECTIONS ON PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

I had questions about my 'field' during fieldwork. Even though observing Wongok-Dong

⁴⁴ This will be explored in more detail in the section on spatial segregation in Chapter 5.

⁴⁵ I will describe socio-cultural events in the following ethnographic chapters.

gave me some insight into the broader research picture, I needed to find a specific place for participant observation since Wongok-Dong as a 'field' was too fluid. There were various potential bases, such as the Indonesian restaurants, the Indonesian Christian church, various civil society groups, and the *masjid* from which to conduct my research. However, it was difficult to effectively observe Indonesian immigrants' activities in these places. During the weekdays, on the one hand, it was hard to meet Indonesian immigrants because they were in their workplace at that time. Although I could meet several unemployed people and night-shift workers, the number was very few. Thus, I focused on interviews or conversation rather than observation. In contrast, I had a lot to do in terms of conducting participant observation during the weekends when numerous Indonesian immigrants could be found in Wongok-Dong. There were not only residents of the town but also outsiders from other regions of Korea. These people spent their holidays with their friends performing formal/informal meetings or other activities not only in their bases such as house, restaurant, church, *masjid* and the ICC office but also on the street or park in Wongok-Dong. That is, their activities were separately performed in different places making observation difficult and creating time management challenges for me.

To overcome the fluidity of the 'field', I used the Social Network Service (SNS: Facebook) as a method of participant observation. Using Facebook⁴⁶ enabled me to conduct my research effectively. First, I could observe migrants' everyday life without needing face-to-face meetings with Indonesians, as they would illustrate their daily life on Facebook⁴⁷ through posting pictures and comments. This information was delivered to me in real time. In their postings, I was presented with various aspects of their life in Korea

⁴⁶ When I connected with someone on Facebook, I could check their uploads such as photos, comments and so on.

⁴⁷ As time went by, I could build rapport with Indonesian immigrants. Then, I connected with them through Facebook.

such as *paguyuban* gatherings, hobbies, daily life in their house, travelling in Korea, religious faith and practices, and their feelings about life in Korea. Hence, Facebook helped me observe the Indonesian immigrants' activities that could not be investigated during weekdays and weekends. Second, I could use the social networking site to confirm the simultaneous schedules of Indonesian immigrants' various activities across Wongok-Dong. I was also able to participate in several Indonesian immigrants' gatherings almost by accident in the early fieldwork period. Initially, it was difficult to obtain regular information about the schedule of their gatherings; Facebook provided a solution. Indonesian communities uploaded notices about their gatherings, including *paguyuban* meetings, religious events, multicultural festivals, sports events, and so on. These postings enabled me to easily organise my schedule for research. Third, posts on Indonesian immigrants' profiles, pictures and comments became useful sources when preparing further interviews or conversations.

INTERVIEWS

In this research, I employed the broader sense of the term 'interview'. That is, I included not only informal conversations which came from participant observation, but also discussions at various Indonesian immigrants' community events/meetings and multicultural festivals. According to Miller and Glassner (1997), interviews provide opportunities to talk interactively with people and to gain access to their "meanings-endowing capacity" (p. 100). Mason (2000: 23) insists that interviewing is not a passive process, but an active one as respondents negotiate the 'meanings' of questions and "reframe their experiences in the act of retelling their stories to fit the immediate context". That is, it is not only the role of the researcher but also the interaction between researchers and respondents that produce the meaning of an interview.

The unstructured interview method I adopted stresses the ‘natural’ setting and results in free-flowing and formless interaction more like a conversation than an interview. For this reason, it had advantages, such as minimising the interventions of the interviewer and creating a relaxed atmosphere for conducting the interview. However, it could cause privacy concerns since interviewees might not realise whether they were taking part in research or not.

In addition, I chose a semi-structured interview technique for my research. These interviews were conducted with fixed and pre-determined questions at the first stage. During the interviewing, however, I asked prompted and supplementary questions to respondents as new issues came up. This semi-formal way enabled them to answer in their own terms rather than focusing on answering my questions.

I conducted interviews with a range of groups including Indonesian immigrants and key informants such as Indonesian integrated communities’ leaders or staffs, the Indonesian *masjid* leader, staff from the Indonesian embassy, Korean/Indonesian⁴⁸ owners of Indonesian restaurants/shops, the Korean leader (minister) of the Indonesian Christian church, and Korean staff from civil societies and Korean government officers.

In terms of interviews with Indonesian immigrants, I asked them about their perceptions of themselves/others, building social capital and transnational activities. More specifically, I tried to identify continuities and discontinuities in Indonesian life trajectories. In other words, the interviews contributed to the identification of migrants’ boundary-making issues before and after migration. In this regard, I could analyse their shared heritage (cultural beliefs, collective identities and sense of solidarity) from the pre-migration period and their shared experiences (challenges and opportunities in Korea) after

⁴⁸ There were thirteen Indonesian restaurants in Wongok-Dong during my fieldwork period. Among these restaurants, three restaurants were run by Indonesian female migrants who had Korean husbands.

migration and their impact on migrants' lives in Wongok-Dong. Basically, I asked interviewees about their social life in both Indonesia and South Korea on matters such as the meaning of their home town, and perceptions of their communities and of people both who have a common and those who have a different heritage. Based on this data, I could obtain information about how they maintained or transcended their boundaries in Wongok-Dong.

This enabled me to investigate the relationship between the diaspora characteristics produced by boundary maintenance and boundary transcendence through the building by Indonesian migrants of different types of social capital. I tried to uncover how social capital operated among Indonesian migrants in Wongok-Dong. On the basis of this question, I could identify issues of isolation and integration that resulted in more marginalised and/or integrated groups through the building of different types of social capital. Generating this data provided a bridge between the characteristics of the Indonesian diaspora and the building of different types of social capital. Moreover, it helped to explain not only Indonesian immigrants' transnational activities in terms of social capital but also their integration into Wongok-Dong.

Indonesian immigrants' formations of social capital affect their performance of transnational activities. In terms of generating data about transnational involvement, I obtained this by identifying the different sorts of transnational activity, such as economic, social and cultural practices. On the basis of this, I endeavoured to investigate several central factors, such as Indonesian immigrants' perceptions about transnational practices, and the patterns of producing and consuming them in Wongok-Dong. This set of interview data gave me an insight into how Indonesian migrants performed their transnational practices and also how these impacted on the features of the Indonesian diaspora, as well as the role of social capital in producing these practices.

Through interviews with key informants, I was able to become more involved in understanding not only the general features of Indonesian immigrants but also the social, historical and cultural aspects of collective activities in Wongok-Dong. I asked leaders of Indonesian integrated communities about various activities that have played a part in achieving integration among Indonesians in Wongok-Dong. In addition, from interviews with Korean civil society groups, Korean government officers and leaders of the Korean Indonesian Christian church I could obtain information about how these institutions support immigrants in performing collective action, and achieving social adaptation. Furthermore, owners of Indonesian restaurants and shops provided sources of information about Indonesian immigrants' daily life in Wongok-Dong. Therefore, this diversity of key informants offered multiple perspectives on the complexities of Indonesian immigrant issues.

I chose Indonesian migrant interviewees from those I met through my intensive involvement in various groups such as the *paguyuban*, the ICC, AKTIS, the Indonesian Muslim group and the Indonesian Christian group and through observation in local parks, streets and restaurants and through a 'snowball' sampling technique. This enabled me to approach Indonesian immigrants who had different social backgrounds in terms of region of origin in Indonesia, language usage, religion and so on.

Whenever I tried to conduct interviews with potential respondents, I formally asked their consent to be interviewed as research subjects. Most of the interviews took place in corner seats of Indonesian restaurants and at the ICC office. However, I also conducted interviews with them wherever I could, for example, in their homes, on the street, in the park, on the bus and so on. During the interviews, I asked different questions to respondents by considering their background and position, and year of arrival. Follow-up interviews were conducted throughout the whole period of my fieldwork period whenever

I had further questions about emerging issues.

REFLECTIONS ON INTERVIEWS

I faced limitations in relying on snowball sampling to conduct my research in the field. Qualitative interviews are typically performed through non-probability sampling in which “researchers select their sample elements not based on a predetermined probability, but based on research purpose, availability of subjects, subjective judgement, or a variety of other non-statistical criteria” (Guo and Hussy, 2008: 2). Based on this, I applied for a job working as a volunteer and became involved in various Indonesian immigrants’ practices to initiate this research. These activities were to encourage people to become interested in my research. As a result of this, I could identify potential interviewees to undertake my research. On the basis of these initial interviews, I had the opportunity to meet other migrants for conducting interviews through the snowball sampling method. After interviews, I asked if the interviewee would introduce me to their friends in the community, or if they would allow me to join formal and informal meetings. This provided chances to meet other key informants. However, most of my interviewees ended up introducing me to their *kawan sekampung* (a friend from the same home town in Indonesia). In addition, they usually invited me to their *paguyuban* gatherings rather than gatherings that were held by Indonesians who had a different social background. Although there were several Indonesians who introduced potential interviewees beyond their *paguyuban*, this was not enough for my purposes. For this reason, I needed to extend my Indonesian network beyond the *paguyuban*. As I described Chapter 2, there were nineteen *paguyuban* in Wongok-Dong. To access each *paguyuban*, I endeavoured to access the Indonesian Integrated

community (ICC), which is comprised of Indonesian immigrants from each *paguyuban*⁴⁹. This enabled me to meet potential interviewees from various social backgrounds. Thus, I was able to obtain much of my information through these activities.

Although I could meet Indonesians from various regions in Indonesia and obtained useful sources for my research, they presented a limited perspective. As I described in Chapter 2, Wongok-Dong was famous for the campaign to build a Borderless Village, and there have been various activities undertaken to achieve coexistence among people from different social backgrounds. This distinct feature of the town has triggered the strong attention of the media, academia and so on, for whom the immigrants' communities were useful sources for interviews. In this regard, the ICC (Indonesian Community in Korea), well-known as the face of the Indonesian community in Wongok-Dong, has become the target of investigation by researchers and broadcasters. This has contributed to the creation of 'well-trained' interviewees in the field. During my interactions with these informants, I wanted to obtain 'unexpected' answers when I spoke with them. However, most of them tried to give me 'correct' answers, due to experience of previous interviews with Koreans, and their answers focused on the positive rather than the negative⁵⁰. For this reason, I had to make more effort to find relevant informants who could give new perspectives on their social life in Wongok-Dong. Then, I could achieve a balance of perspectives.

DATA RECORDING AND ANALYSIS

When undertaking my research project, I tape-recorded all the semi-structured interviews, unless the interviewee asked me not to. Whenever I could not tape-record, I wrote down

⁴⁹ See Chapter 6

⁵⁰ Although their attitude made it difficult for me to conduct the research in the early stages of fieldwork, it did give me integrated Indonesians' perspectives on isolated Indonesians in Wongok-Dong (see Chapters 6, 7, and 8).

key words during the interview and immediately recorded detailed descriptions after the interview. In addition, field notes were used as a form of data organisation during my stay in various settings. These included physical descriptions of situations and informants, meetings, conversation and various activities. Moreover, I tried to write down my impressions, feelings and emotions after the interviews on my field notes. These activities took place on a daily basis and then were continually reviewed. After the completion of data collection, I read my field notes and transcriptions of the interviews repeatedly in order to identify key characteristics, ideas and themes in relation to my research questions. After this stage, I made a list of all the themes, and grouped them together. Then, I identified key words that could be allocated to each theme. Through these activities, I identified themes that could answer my research questions.

ETHICAL ISSUES, VALIDITY AND REFLEXIVITY

ETHICAL ISSUES

If the research is a source of potential risk to participants, researchers have to protect them from physical, psychological, social and economic harm during the research process. Thus, researchers have to anticipate harm that might come from their research process and minimise this. In this regard, there were possibilities of harm occurring to participants in this research project. For example, most of the potential research participants for my research were Indonesian migrants. Protecting their privacy in interviews in public spaces such as Indonesian restaurants/shops, the ICC office and the *masjid* was going to be difficult since they were generally open spaces with no separate room available. Thus, potential respondents would have found it difficult to express what they wanted to say because of the presence of other people.

Furthermore, Indonesian migrant workers are often required to perform overtime work in their workplace. Thus, long interviews had the potential to cause stress, pressure and exhaustion through imposing an extra time burden on their busy lives. In addition, I needed to interview more excluded migrant people such as undocumented migrant workers and ethnic minority migrants in order to undertake my research project. Investigating these people could have caused harm to their communities, as people who experienced social exclusion in their communities could become aware of their situation due to the interviews and this might lead to conflict between marginalised people and community members. In terms of undocumented migrant workers, conducting this research might have given them cause for concern over their situation in Korea. To encourage voluntary participation, I presented all relevant information about my research process. After this, the interviewee's consent was requested for undertaking my research. However, this process of informed consent could have caused undocumented workers to become nervous, since they had to complete a formal consent form, which means that researchers would then know their legal status. To avoid harm in the research process, I arranged not only a flexible interview schedule but also an appropriate space (such as a corner seat of the restaurant) for interviews to protect participants' privacy. Moreover, the names of all of the migrants in this research were converted to pseudonyms in order to protect confidentiality. I also did not ask about their legal status issues before they spoke about it themselves. In addition, all information about the research process was provided to participants to reduce harm. Especially, I addressed potential risks to them and endeavoured to minimise problems.

In addition to the efforts to minimise harm due to the off-line research, I should have considered problems regarding on-line ethnographic fieldwork. As I addressed above, Facebook was one of my participant observation methods. As I was conducting online research, I realised that there were differences between off-line and on-line research due to

the question of obtaining informed consent. Unlike off-line research, there have been many debates regarding whether researchers have to obtain informed consent or not to conduct online ethnographic fieldwork. On the one hand, cyberspace should be regarded as a private space where the researcher has to gain informed consent before undertaking any research (Thomsen, Straubhaar and Bolyard, 1998). On the other hand, some scholars (Schaap, 2002; Magnet, 2007) argue that on-line postings are already permitted to be used by others since the contents are in a public domain. Even though there have been many debates about the ethical issues of on-line research, I believe that the research should be flexibly conducted following both perspectives. Following the perspective of the former, I endeavoured to obtain informant consent from potential Indonesian research participants before conducting online research. When Indonesian immigrants added me as a contact on Facebook, I obtained permission about my on-line research in person. Additionally, I also used email to receive authorisation when I could not meet potential research participants off-line. However, I followed the latter view when I was confronted with difficulties in judging whether the content was private or not. For example, I had to combine a lot of content from Facebook users to illustrate characteristics of the Indonesian migrant group in Wongkok-Dong rather than personal issues. In this case, I ignored gaining permission from them by regarding cyberspace as public sector. Namely, I followed both views about ethical issues to conduct on-line research.

VALIDITY

According to Wong (2007:67) issues of validity are divided into two parts. The first is external validity, which is related to generalisation. Specifically, 'how do we know that the results of this one piece of research are applicable to another situation?' The second is that internal validity is linked to the issue of the reliability of the data, that is, 'how do we know

that the result of this one piece of research represents the real thing?’ Considering these questions, researchers need to deal with problems related to subjectivity, identity and positionality.

External and internal validity

Ethnographic research and the case study and participant observation approaches have been much criticised over generalisation (Hammersley, 1998; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). Researchers who conduct their studies with a case study approach may receive criticism due to the small selection of cases, which could be regarded as representing exceptional or abnormal issues. However, Burns (2000: 474) insists that the dispute about generalisation is likely to fall into the trap of positivism, that “generalisation theory is the only worthwhile goal”. He argues that researchers can conduct their research by focusing on the ‘circumstantial uniqueness’ rather than paying attention to ‘obscurities of mass representation’. In other words, all cases are embedded in historical, social, political, personal and other contexts.

In terms of internal validity, subjectivity is regarded as one of the big concerns when conducting ethnographic research (Lecompte, 1987). In this regard, the process of generating data for my research project could be criticised on several grounds. Firstly, this research could reflect my own personalised view. Moreover, research methods could be seen as selected by my own personal beliefs, biases and tastes. Qualitative research clearly presents some problems in terms of subjectivity. However, my understanding of research is that there are many difficulties in conducting purely ‘objective’ research and the key is to minimise the impact of subjectivity in the research process. There are several ways to minimise the impact of subjectivity. First, research reliability can be increased by providing detailed descriptions of the research decisions that are made at each of the different

research stages (Robson, 1993). In this regard, I fully documented my research procedures. In the event, these activities contributed to me elaborating my research beyond the hypothesis that was formulated before the fieldwork started. For example, I realised that I could obtain unexpected perspectives about the relationship between levels of transnational involvement and immigrants' boundary-making (maintenance and transcendence) through investigating the role of social capital. In addition to this, I found I could enhance reliability with long-term observation, prolonged involvement and persistent investigation in the field. Hence, undertaking these activities in Borderless Village provided many voices and perspectives of migrants, which was helpful in increasing credibility. Secondly, cross-checking evidence from various sources and data triangulation also strengthen validity (Burn, 2000). Finally, reflexivity is a way to reduce the impact of subjectivity. Derived from the increasing popularity of post-modern ideas, the adoption of a reflexive approach means that the researcher can be redefined as an imperfect being in contrast to the presumed neutrality of more modernist approaches to social research (Bryman, 2004). From this perspective, the researcher is seen as an integral part of the research process and greatly "contributes to the construction of meaning" during the research (Gilbert, 2008: 512). Reflexivity refers to a self-critical approach to be applied during the whole process of research. To accomplish this, researchers have to bear a critical attitude toward not only the data but also to their prior assumptions and biases. It also involves the unravelling of the emotional impact of the fieldwork experience (Michalowski, 1996). In terms of reflexivity, there are a number of characteristics that may affect the research that the researcher needs to be aware of, these include age, gender, social background and education level (Bryman, 2004). These factors may affect the development of field relations and the writing up of the research. Thus, it is important to unravel researchers' emotional impacts that arose in various socio-cultural conditions in the field

and to determine the power relationships between researcher and subjects in order to minimise the negative consequences of subjectivity. This process enhances validity by addressing researchers' experiences, barriers and problems as imperfect human beings who happen to be social scientists (Kim, 1997). Although reflexivity cannot solve all the problems caused by subjectivity, it leads us to "question the motives of interlocutors, the impact of audiences and ultimately the validity of interpretations" (Michlowski, 1996: 79). On the basis of this, I will have to consider my positioning as a Korean researcher in his early thirties who is studying in the United Kingdom to avoid the impact of subjectivity during the research process. In the following section, I will focus on my issues of 'going insider' and 'being insider' in the field.

REFLEXIVITY: GOING 'INSIDER' AND BEING 'INSIDER'?

The fieldwork required me to take multiple actions as a native researcher. During my Masters and Ph. D years in the United Kingdom, I participated in classes in qualitative research methods. At that time, I felt confusion about my identity. In class, I learned about 'them' who are different from 'us'. However, I did not belong to either 'us' (Western) or 'them' (research subjects in the third world). This confusion about identity also continued during the fieldwork. At the end of the first year of my Ph. D, most of my colleagues prepared to leave for their fieldwork to investigate one of the 'them' that had been discussed in the Masters and Ph. D courses. Although I also planned to do research about 'them' (Indonesians), my standing was a bit different from that of my colleagues. Fieldwork to my friends was 'the journey to exotic places' such as Africa, Middle East and so on but in my case, 'returning to familiar surroundings' was my task for fieldwork as a native researcher. Jackson (1987) and Messerschmidt (1981) both raise questions about traditional assumptions of ethnography, such as the idea that it consists of research undertaken alone

in distant lands, as some kind of rite of passage, and present several reasons in favour of an emerging indigenous anthropologist. Among the reasons for doing anthropology at home, Messerschmidt (1981) points out that there has been an increase in many minority-group and indigenous anthropologists who are now working the area that was occupied by White and Euro-Americans before. For example, Indian and Hispanic anthropologists have researched in their communities in America (O'Reilly, 2009). I had to investigate not only the Indonesian immigrant group, which was a minority group in Korea, but also their surroundings in Korea itself. In this regard, I was not totally an indigenous researcher in the field. On the one hand, I was already the 'insider' as a Korean in the field. On the other hand, I had to endeavour to be an insider within the Indonesian immigrant group as well. These conditions required me to make different responses according to the situations. However, this perspective of dichotomy between outsider and insider is challenged by Kirin Narayan in her essay 'How Native Is a Native Anthropologist?' (1993). According to this research, Narayan criticises the belief that a native anthropologist is regarded as an insider without consideration of his or her complex backgrounds through following essentialist view. Then, she insists that "factors such as education, gender, sexual orientation, class, race or sheer duration of contacts may at different times outweigh the cultural identity we associate with insider or outsider status" (1993: 672). In other words, native researchers should be considered as a person with not just a single status but multiple statuses in the field. Thus, in the following, I will describe my experiences during fieldwork as a Korean researcher, studying in the UK and investigating Indonesian immigrants in Wongok-Dong. This may clarify the role of indigenous researchers in a transnational context.

Korean outsider

First of all, my position as a Korean outsider was a weak point in terms of my ability to access potential informants. Wongok-Dong has gained popularity as the number one multicultural village in Korea due to the number of foreign migrants and the various efforts of civil societies and government to build a multicultural society there (See Chapter 2). This context has drawn the attention of various Korean groups such as the media, academics, tourists and so on. In fact, I saw media teams that were reporting multicultural aspects of Wongok-Dong many times during my fieldwork. On weekends, moreover, researchers and students who come to conduct their own studies could be easily found in the town. The other group was Korean tourists who wanted to enjoy ethnic foods from various countries in the world, and the atmosphere of a multicultural town. In addition, the town was the best place for immigration officers, who were treated as guests in the town, to arrest undocumented foreign immigrants due to the large number of foreign migrants. Consequently, both native Koreans and immigrants in Wongok-Dong recognised the features of Korean guest groups.

During my research, Indonesian immigrants tried to understand me, based on their previous experience of Korean outsiders in Wongok-Dong. They had categorised Korean outsiders based on these experiences; however, I did not fit into their categorisations. Although some Indonesian migrants accepted me as a researcher, others did not due to my distinctiveness compared to other Korean researchers they had already experienced. One Indonesian said that “you are always in Wongok-Dong. I know one Korean researcher but he did not perform like you.” On this occasion, he indirectly described my strange position based on his previous experiences. On another occasion, somebody asked for visible evidence of my position as a researcher. When I met Indonesian migrants, I always explained my position and the research. In addition, I used the Indonesian language to communicate. In spite of my efforts to build trust with Indonesian immigrants, they still

doubted the truth about my position as a researcher.

As time went by, I began to understand the reasons for their doubt. The doubt was justified by the deception they had experienced at the hands of Korean outsiders. I heard one story about this from a staff member at ICC:

Maybe one year ago, there was a Korean man like you. A Hesti (university student) introduced him to us. At that time, he pretended to be a university student and asked many things to ICC (Indonesian Community in Korea) members about our activities. But as things turned out, he was not a student but a member of Interpol. He investigated our community to prevent terrorism. Thus, we cannot easily trust the Korean students who want to access our community. (Asly, one of the ICC staff)

Another story was about an immigration officer who was on stake-out in Wongok-Dong. I visited the Incheon immigration office to see one of my informants who had been arrested by an immigration officer. At that time, I was accompanied by two Indonesians and two Koreans. When we entered the building, one Indonesian friend whispered to me. He said, "I know that guy [pointing with his finger]. I saw many times him in Wongok-Dong. At that time, he seemed like a bit strange. My thought was right. He is an immigrant officer". Although immigration officers were only doing their job in Wongok-Dong, Indonesian immigrants could not easily accept their behaviour since they concealed their identity.

Reflecting on these stories, Indonesian migrants must have felt that my behaviour patterns in Wongok-Dong were strange. While I observed Indonesian migrants in Wongok-Dong, they also observed me. Indonesian immigrants talked to each other about my activities. For example, how I approached Indonesian immigrants, what I talked to them about, what I did in Wongok-Dong and so on, were all topics of conversation. At that time, I was walking, taking pictures and talking with people who I was hoping would become informants during weekdays. Sometimes, I was working at the Indonesian

restaurant. In addition, I participated in their formal/informal meetings, religious activities and weddings without invitation⁵¹. In their view, these activities did not correspond with what they thought most Korean males in their early thirties did. As far as Indonesian migrants knew, Korean males in their early thirties did their work during weekdays. However, my participant observation in the field also seemed liked ‘nothing special’ to Indonesian immigrants. In their eyes, I simply wandered around town without any special objectives. However, Indonesian migrants could have doubted my identity, when they saw that I, who did not appear to have any particular job, suddenly transcended boundaries through working in an Indonesian restaurant and visiting various Indonesian activities. These unexpected or accidental behaviours were not experienced within the categorisations of Koreans among Indonesian immigrants. Therefore, it was possible that Indonesian migrants did not totally believe that I was a researcher.

In this context, I had to reduce the gap between myself and Indonesians’ assumptions about a Korean researcher by building up trust with them. To achieve this, I prepared a variety of visual aids. Whenever I met Indonesian immigrants, first of all, I always gave my business card to them. On the card, I wrote not only the symbol of Sussex University but also my personal information (department of the university, mobile number and email address) in both Korean and English.⁵² Distributing a business card helped to build trust with my research subjects. At least Indonesian immigrants realised that I was not concealing myself, whether the contents of the business card were true or not. It also distinguished me from other Koreans who showed an interest in Indonesians but never left a name card. Therefore, they did not consider me to be an immigration officer or an

⁵¹I usually participated in various Indonesian migrants’ activities by obtaining information from Indonesians or from Facebook notices. Before starting community activities, I asked for permission for my involvement from gatekeepers.

⁵²At the early stage of determining to make a name card for the research, I considered using Indonesian instead of English. But I thought that would seem ‘unnatural’.

Interpol policeman anymore. Moreover, I also prepared various photos on my tablet PC. Using the device, I showed my pictures to Indonesian migrants. These pictures were about my fieldwork in Indonesia⁵³ and academic years in Sussex University. Responses were good. After showing pictures, they started to talk and asked about the pictures, such as: “I’m from central Java. Did you study in UGM (University of Gaja Mada)? How was Borobudur? Did you visit Jakarta? I want to go England. University is quite beautiful.” These were common responses of Indonesians after presenting several pictures about my experiences in Indonesia and England. Hence, it was useful in helping me to start informal conversations with research subjects.

In the field, I was an uncomfortable person to Koreans because of their pre-experiences of Korean researchers. While some Koreans, especially those who ran their own businesses such as restaurants or stores in the town, could make profit from the visits of Korean outsider groups, they had also experienced uncomfortable situations caused by Korean immigration officers and researchers. Therefore, I experienced the negative attitudes of the Korean population towards unwelcome guests.

First, Korean subjects sometimes told me about negative experiences which had resulted in crackdowns by immigration officers. In the early stage of my fieldwork, I had planned to do a short survey to obtain general information about Indonesian immigrants in Wongok-Dong. The questions were about basic information such as personal details (age, their region of origin in Indonesia and religion), workplace (location of the company and nature of their work in the company) and immigration (arrival year and expected departure year). I tried to do this survey in Indonesian restaurants. However, the survey turned out to be a failure. Although one Korean restaurant owner wanted to help me, he refused me

⁵³During my bachelor years, I stayed in Indonesia for several months. At that time, I spent most of my time in Yogyakarta and studied Indonesian language and Indonesian society/culture at the University of Gaja Mada.

access to Indonesian customers in his restaurant after seeing the questions. He said that “among questions, location of company and immigration matters can be problem. These questions are risky to run my business.” That is, he worried that I might seem like an immigration officer to Indonesian customers. After this event, he seemed to feel uncomfortable with my presence in the restaurant. I did not understand this matter until realising the negative effect an investigation by immigration officers could have on a restaurant. Several years ago, although immigration officers used to arrest undocumented immigrants in front of Ansan station or on the streets, stores and restaurants in Wongok-Dong were safe from crackdowns. However, during my fieldwork, immigration officers often arrested undocumented immigrants in shops and restaurants. Even though the officers were acting on tip-offs and had no intention of interrogating other potential undocumented immigrants in the place, the Korean owners of Indonesian restaurants experienced negative outcomes from such crackdowns since undocumented Indonesians would avoid visiting the restaurant in the future. For this reason, Korean shop and restaurant owners regarded my activities in their premises as potentially damaging to their ability to attract immigrant customers. In spite of my position as researcher, I was as unwelcome a guest as the immigration officers.

Second, Korean insiders' experiences with Korean students were a barrier to my research. Due to the fashion for multiculturalism as a topic of study in Korea, university students from several departments such as anthropology, social welfare and sociology often visited the town to complete their term papers. They usually visited the Islamic mosque, immigrant restaurants, shops, the Christian church and so on in Wongok-Dong. Even though there were differences in terms of research methods according to department, most of their activities relied on interviews with Koreans or assistance from Koreans to communicate with the immigrants. For example, university students visited Indonesian

mosques during *Ramadan*. At that time, the Korean leader of Antioch International Community⁵⁴ (Indonesian Christian church) accompanied the students to act as an interpreter. Even though the Korean leader of the church had a chance to promote harmony with Indonesian Muslims by giving assistance to the students, this activity was an extra burden to him. That is, he had to minimise the side effects that were caused by cultural differences between the two groups on top of his main duty as interpreter. Most of the university students were females wearing short skirts or pants due to the hot August weather. They did not know about Muslim culture.⁵⁵ Thus, the church leader had to prepare alternative ways to visit the Indonesian *masjid* with female students⁵⁶. In addition to this gentle disturbance, one Korean owner of an Indonesian restaurant strongly expressed his regret about the visiting Korean students as follows:

Frankly speaking, interview is very annoying to me. University students visited many times to my restaurant for writing their term paper. Most of them were students in department of Anthropology or Social Welfare. [...] Every year, they came to conduct interview with me by obtaining information about me from their seniors in the university. However, questions were same as their seniors did. It was very hard to endure. [...] I felt bad when they recorded without notice. I hope that they obtain information about what questions their senior asked to me rather than about me. (Korean owner of Indonesian restaurant)

He pointed out the annoying nature of repeated patterns of students and their problems with ethical issues for conducting research.

On the basis of Korean insiders' negative perspectives about Korean outsiders, I needed to eliminate or minimise their former memories about Korean outsiders by

⁵⁴Antioch International Community is the church for Indonesian immigrants in Wongok-Dong. This church provides various forms of assistance for Indonesian immigrants' welfare. However, the ultimate objective of these activities is mission work. (for detailed information see Chapter 6)

⁵⁵As I described in the previous section, I fasted with Indonesian immigrants in the *masjid*. One Indonesian stressed that wearing short pants is strongly prohibited in the *masjid*.

⁵⁶At that time, female university students used a *sarung* (skirt) which was given to them by the *masjid* to cover themselves.

rearranging my position as a researcher. First, I endeavoured to transform the meaning of my existence in the Indonesian restaurants from 'potential risk' to 'economic gain' to build a rapport with Korean owners. One of my efforts was that I gave one international calling card to interviewees whenever they had an interview in the restaurant⁵⁷. It contributed to not only boost the sales of Korean owners in the restaurant but also trigger the visits of more customers to the restaurant. In addition, I often gave assistance to owners of the restaurant. During the weekend⁵⁸, I served food to customers to solve the problem of staff shortage in the restaurant. Moreover, I had to overcome Korean insiders' negative image of Korean students to approach the subjects. That is, the important things to do were to create a more natural setting and exchange meaningful conversation with subjects to distinguish myself from other Korean students. I focused on hanging around with Indonesian immigrants rather than directly approaching Korean subjects to avoid annoying them. It enabled me to assume a more natural position in terms of my relationship with Korean subjects. Thus, I could more smoothly start to talk with the subjects. On the basis of this setting, I also discussed ethical issues and researchers' duties in the field with them. In addition, I tried to avoid questions that were 'stuck in a groove'. After realising the relationship between Korean students and Korean insiders, I changed my conversation patterns with my research subjects. For example, I talked about my experiences of Indonesian immigrants and Wongok-Dong instead of throwing questions at them. In response to what I was talking about, they also shared their impressions and stories of Wongok-Dong. Looking back, it was important not only to build equal relationships between researcher and subjects but also to exchange meaningful questions with each other.

⁵⁷ To conduct interviews with Indonesian migrants in the early period of fieldwork, I posted an advertisement on the wall of the restaurant after obtaining permission from the owners.

⁵⁸ Indonesian restaurants in Wongok-Dong were usually full of customers at the weekend.

Social status

During fieldwork, whenever I met an Indonesian informant for the first time, they always called me *Hyeongnim* (big brother). The first time this happened, I did not consider the matter deeply. However, Indonesians who were older than me also used the term (*Hyeongnim*) to address me and I realised that it was a problem, not of age gap, but of the structure of the society.

The problem was that Indonesian immigrants would read my countenance in order to ‘correctly’ answer my questions. Indonesian migrants have effectively already been trained how they should behave in front of Koreans and this became a barrier to my research. They had been educated by not only the Indonesian embassy but also by their experiences in their factory. The Indonesian embassy, together with the ICC, gives messages such as ‘don’t be a foreign migrant worker who makes troubles in Korea’ to Indonesian immigrants via a newsletter and education. Although the endeavours of the Indonesian embassy play an important role in shaping the attitudes of Indonesian migrants to Koreans, direct experiences in the factory were also crucial in formulating behaviour patterns of Indonesian migrants towards Koreans. As time has gone by, Indonesian migrants have experienced the hierarchy between Korean and themselves. This relationship is formed by encounters with Koreans as their bosses at work. In their position, Indonesian migrants should follow the orders of Koreans and this hierarchy is usually reflected in relationships with Koreans outside of their workplace.

My academic background also often hindered my research. Although there were Indonesians who had received a college education before immigration, most of them had not. For this reason, my position as a Ph. D candidate in the United Kingdom made me into a person who had lived in a totally different world to Indonesian immigrants. In this

regard, Indonesians often wanted to use my position to achieve their own purposes after building a social relationship with me. For example, the different Indonesian integrated communities such as ICC and AKTIS had formed negative discourses about each other⁵⁹. The members of these communities wanted to confirm their justification through my opinions. For example, Indonesian immigrants asked me to distinguish between right and wrong when there was conflict among Indonesians. Whenever they did this, it was an awkward situation for me since I did not want to change any of the social order within the Indonesian immigrant group through my role as a researcher.

To rearrange Indonesian immigrants' perceptions of my position as a Korean and Ph. D student, I endeavoured to build equality in my relationships with Indonesian immigrants. To achieve this, I used the honorific for conversation with Indonesian immigrants to eliminate their experiences of hierarchy in Korea.⁶⁰ Between Koreans, people usually use the honorific to each other when they meet for the first time without consideration of age. Although most Indonesian immigrants were young,⁶¹ I observed that Koreans talked down to Indonesians even in their first meeting. In effect, Indonesians were treated contemptuously by Koreans. In this regard, I expected that using the honorific to Indonesians could relieve the stiff power relationship between Indonesians and myself. In addition, I tried to rearrange immigrants' passive position in terms of their relationship with Koreans. For this, I followed immigrants' opinions rather than expressing my preferences in the field. Whenever I hung around with them, in other words, I let them decide where to go, what to eat, and so on without exercising my opinion in order to

⁵⁹ These two Indonesian integrated communities both endeavoured to secure the support of the sub-Indonesian hometown communities (*paguyuban*) to achieve their political and economic objectives in Wongok-Dong. Thus, conflicts between two groups were unavoidable. More detailed information about the conflicts between two Indonesian integrated communities will be described in Chapter 7.

⁶⁰ I used Indonesian language to build a rapport with Indonesian immigrants. I also spoke the honorific in Korean when I needed to rearrange the power balance between Indonesians and myself.

⁶¹ Most of the Indonesian immigrants were aged between early 20s and early 30s.

change the existing perception of the decision-making process with Koreans. In doing so, I wanted to build a more 'natural' atmosphere in which to conduct my research.

To Koreans, my position as a Ph. D candidate in the United Kingdom was the main concern. I was younger than most of my Korean research subjects who were owners of Indonesian restaurants/shops, staff of civil society groups, church leaders and government officers. Basically, this meant that my position was weaker than these Korean subjects in terms of power relations. In Korea, people who have a position of seniority usually have a duty to care for and teach juniors. For this reason, I expected that I could easily obtain assistance from them through this Korean social norm. However, my prediction was not on target. Although I was younger than my Korean subjects, my position as a Ph. D candidate hindered my access to them.

For example, in the early stage of the fieldwork, I applied for a volunteer position in a civil society and had an interview with a member of staff. However, I felt that he hesitated to accept me as a volunteer worker after reading my resumé. He said:

You are a Ph. D candidate in UK, aren't you? Why do you want to do this kind of work? I think that there are other activities which are more helpful for conducting your research. However, if you want to do this, I will call you whenever I need your help. (Korean staff in civil society)

After the interview, I could start work at the centre. However, it was very difficult to do relevant work for my research. Although they often asked me for help, I could not contact research subjects, either Korean or Indonesian, due to the tasks I was assigned. I was asked to manage the parking at an event to raise money for a multicultural school in Wongok-Dong, I also addressed letters to many churches in the country asking them to sponsor the building of the school. As a result, I was in an isolated position at the centre. In spite of this lack of contact point with my research subjects, I nonetheless tried to ask the questions

about the features of Wongok-Dong, the effects of NGO activities, foreign migrants' activities and so on. Although the Korean staff kindly answered my questions, their answers were superficial. At that time, I did not know why they gave these kind of answers to me. However, when I shared my experiences as a volunteer worker with one Korean researcher who had already done fieldwork in Wongok-Dong, I realised that it was my position that caused the problem. He said that "there are possibilities to cause inconveniences among staffs of civil society due to presence of researcher especially a Ph. D candidate. They usually do not want to say a lot to researchers because they wanted to avoid disgrace which is the result of incorrect answering in front of a young researcher". Therefore, they felt pressure to give me 'correct' answers as seniors and specialists in their job.

In addition, I visited one Indonesian shop, which was managed by a Korean owner. There were many kinds of Indonesian items on sale, such as food, DVDs, Indonesian traditional clothing (called Batik) and casual clothing. One side of the store was decorated with a lot of Indonesian migrants' pictures. While I observed the shop, one old lady who was at the counter asked to me: "Are you Korean?" After confirming my national identity, she started to explain something about Indonesia and Indonesian people. I felt that she endeavoured to reduce Koreans' bias towards Indonesians. She said that "Indonesia is not dirty. Many Koreans think that Indonesian food and Indonesian people are dirty. But this is not true". However, her desire to inform me about Indonesia disappeared when I formally introduced myself as a Ph. D candidate in the UK. She suddenly stopped talking about Indonesian stories and talked instead about her life before arriving in Wongok-Dong for business. She said that, "although my family run this store here, we are not native in

Wongok-Dong. We are from Gangnam⁶² in Seoul”. She also added stories about her husband’s previous job as a government officer who obtained a commendation from the president, her son-in-law’s work in Samsung electronics and her son’s English language training in Canada. At that time, what she wanted to do was elevate her status by presenting the success stories of her family members in front of a researcher who was doing a Ph. D course in the UK. In other words, she endeavoured to restore the broken balance of the relationship, caused by my status as a Ph. D student in the UK, to that which usually operated between senior and junior in Korea.

To rearrange the balance of power, I chose several strategies in order to build rapport with Korean subjects who were older than me. First, I changed the terms I used to address my subjects. Most of my Korean research subjects who were owners of Indonesian restaurants or shops, government officers, staffs of civil societies, and church leaders who had their own titles. I usually addressed them by their title when calling them in the early stage of fieldwork. In doing so, however, I felt that I could not build links with them and encourage a close relationship. In other words, calling them by their title did not overcome my position as researcher and provide something in common through which we could develop a deeper relationship. Instead, I decided to call them *Seonsaengnim* to create a relevant link between my research subjects and myself. In Korea, *Seonsaengnim* indicates not only a teacher in school but also a senior member in society. Basically, calling elderly people *Seonsaengnim* is a sign of respect. By using the title, I indicated that I wanted to receive teaching and attention from them. In addition to using the new title, I always showed my respect for them by my behaviour, particularly through my greetings. For example, when I visited Indonesian restaurants, I always bowed as a mark of respect to the owners of the restaurant. This was the first step in any visit, then I could hang around with Indonesian

⁶²Gangnam is a sign of wealth in Korea.

people in the restaurant. That is, becoming a ‘good boy’ in front of elderly Korean subjects was crucial to me. If I did not, they might possibly treat me as a person who was arrogant. For this reason, whenever restaurant owners were busy, I volunteered to help them clean, serve the food to the customers in the restaurant or deliver food to customers. Showing such diligence and good attitude towards them gave me protection from the reversed power relations caused by my position as a Ph. D candidate.

I was happy to make relationships with Korean subjects, but maintaining the expression of politeness and respect caused a certain tension. It made me tired during whole periods of my fieldwork. As time went by, however, I earned positive reviews from Korean subjects not as a researcher but as a junior. Namely, they started to regard me as a person they cared about. Although they recognised me as junior, they did not forget my expectation of doing fieldwork. Whenever I expressed my gratitude to him, one of my informants said, “you are very welcome, your success will be compensation to me. Please, write a good dissertation.” Moreover, a minister of the Indonesian Christian church prayed for my future in the United Kingdom before I left Wongok-Dong.

Memories

[Memory 1: Korean social gatherings]

From 2005 to 2006, I was on the course of a masters degree at Leeds University in England. At that time, I participated in various Korean social gatherings. I used to mix with my Korean peer group on Friday night. In addition, I played football with Koreans every Saturday. I participated in Korean school as a teacher. Although I was not a Christian, the Korean Christian church was also the place for my socialising. At that time, these activities were the only exit from different surroundings such as language usage and cultural stuffs in England. In these gatherings, I was at ease to meet Korean people who were all in the same boat in terms of being in the minority in the United Kingdom.

[Memory 2: Korean Town]

During the Christmas season, most of my Korean friends in Leeds went back to Korea to spend their holidays with family. But several students had to stay in Leeds for various reasons. One day we gathered in my Korean friend's flat and decided to go to London for the Christmas holidays. Although we went to London at that time, visiting New Malden⁶³ was the main objective. We were happy to imagine what kinds of Korean food we would eat, which Korean stuffs are useful for life in Leeds and so on. In the early morning, we took a bus for London. When we arrived in New Malden, we already spent 5 hours. It was quite a long time but visiting a Korean town was the best Christmas present to us.

[Memory 3: Tuesday regular social meeting of the department of East Asian studies]

I used to join the regular social meeting during my master years in Leeds. This meeting was always held at one of the Japanese restaurants near campus for socialising. Although members of this gathering consisted of Japanese and British students, I could join there by recommendation of my Japanese friend. This gathering often continued until 1 or 2 am. It made me very tired. But I had to go there every week not only to get the information about the essay and examination from British classmates but also make British friends for improving my English language skills.

[Memory 4: Room hunting]

After finishing my fieldwork in Korea, I returned to Sussex in late September. Then I started to look for a place to live for my forthcoming academic years. However, it was very difficult to find vacant rooms since most of houses were full of students due to autumn term having already started. Although I occasionally found flats with vacancies, I could not join as a member of the flat. I always had an interview with potential flatmates who were European professionals. Whenever I had interviews with them, I prepared my name card and dressed up nicely to leave a good impression. However, I felt that I could not rent a room due to their attitudes toward to me. After the interview, they said that they would give a message to me within several days but I did not receive any messages from them. I don't know the reason for this, but I suspected it was because that I was an East Asian who has

⁶³New Malden is located in South West London and is renowned as the biggest Korean town in Europe.

different cultural features to them through their look and gestures in spite of other possibilities. I was not allowed to enter into their space.

These short stories are my personal experiences during my study abroad as a Masters and Ph. D student in the United Kingdom. Although my position as a Korean and a Ph. D student studying in the United Kingdom was a barrier to access the research subjects in Wongok-Dong, my previous experiences as an immigrant in the United Kingdom also made it difficult for me to conduct fieldwork and write this thesis. More specifically, conducting research in Wongok-Dong wakened my forgotten memories of studying and living in the United Kingdom. Thus, these memories continually interrupted the process of the research. What I observed in the field was various aspects of Indonesian immigrants. For example, Indonesians had regular social gatherings to maintain their way of life in Wongok-Dong. During weekends, I easily met Indonesians who visited Wongok-Dong from other regions in Korea. Sometimes, Indonesians depended on me to solve their problems. Moreover, they shared their stories about their experiences of exclusion in Korea. Their life in Korea resonated with mine in the United Kingdom. For this reason, whenever I was observing them in Wongok-Dong and writing the thesis in Sussex, I again met myself who was in the United Kingdom as an immigrant. When these forgotten memories rose in my mind, I could not focus on my work. Those memories were about my strenuous efforts to achieve adaptation in the United Kingdom, and evoked a feeling of loneliness, sadness and longing in me. Whenever I felt these emotions, it took a lot of time to focus on my research again.

CHAPTER 5. BOUNDARY MAINTENANCE OF INDONESIAN MIGRANTS

DIASPORA, ETHNICITY, AND INDONESIAN MIGRANTS IN WONGOK-DONG

In this chapter I argue that Indonesian immigrants separately maintain their boundaries within the diaspora group in Wongok-Dong. From the 1990s, diaspora became a main research issue in understanding of international migration. The term diaspora is defined as “expatriate minority communities such as immigrants, expatriate, refugee, guest workers, exile community, overseas community, ethnic community including Jewish, Greek, and Armenian dispersion” (Safran, 1991; Tololian, 1991). On the basis of this definition, several scholars (Brubaker, 2005; Cohen, 1997; Safran, 1991) stress that maintaining strong links with their homeland and their distinctive identities in the host society are important features of diaspora migrants. Although these concepts of diaspora are useful for analysing the features of diaspora groups, these studies neglect aspects of diversity within diaspora groups.

However, Wimmer and Glick Shiller (2003) point out that methodological nationalism in migration studies causes diaspora groups to be imagined as organic, integrated wholes in spite of their internal divisions. Similarly, Anthias (1998) points out that diaspora groups have heterogeneity due to the different times they moved, their different reasons for moving, and the different countries of destination which provide different social conditions, opportunities and exclusions. For this reason, assuming that a

diasporic group is a unit that represents the nation-state is problematic since diasporas are not homogeneous groups, and have their own features. This perspective can reveal totally different features of diaspora groups to the homeland orientation feature of the classic description of diaspora. In this regard, it is important to examine the diversity within diaspora groups.

To clarify the heterogeneity within the diaspora group, I apply the concept of ethnicity. In this chapter, I mainly focus on Fredrik Barth's instrumentalist perspective to understand Indonesian ethnicity in Wongok-Dong and its boundary maintenance. According to Barth, ethnicity is a kind of social organisation that draws and reproduces group boundaries (1969). In this regard, ethnicity can be produced by the social processes of exclusion and incorporation embodied in the construction and maintenance of boundaries. It produces not only insider but also outsider. Hence, a group's ethnicity can develop in the presence of another group from which it considers itself to be substantially different. In this context, ethnicity is not isolated (i.e., absolute in a primordial sense) but relative. To distinguish themselves, group members use the symbols of ethnic identity as self-ascription. De Vos (1975) provides a list of potential criteria for cultural difference: racial uniqueness (some sense of genetically inherited difference), place of origin, economic independence (secured by community organisation within the plural society), religious beliefs and practices, aesthetic cultural forms (e.g., food, dress and dance) and language. In choosing some or all of these criteria as symbols of identity, group members define the ways in which they differentiate themselves from other groups.

This framework is useful when considering the case of the Indonesian diaspora community in Wongok-Dong. The Indonesian migrant community consists of people of different forms of heritage, as evidenced by their geographical, linguistic, ethnic and social heterogeneity. Nevertheless, Indonesian migrants have rarely experienced the diversity of

their country before coming to Korea. Although Indonesians who have spent some of their time in large cities such as Jakarta and Surabaya⁶⁴ may have had chances to realise Indonesian social heterogeneity personally, most Indonesian migrants in Wongok-Dong have not, as they come from the Indonesian countryside⁶⁵. During pre-migration periods, most Indonesian migrants did not have opportunities to mingle with different ethnic groups since they were part of the dominant ethnic group in their hometown. This social segregation has led them to new circumstances after their immigration to Korea. When various Indonesian ethnic groups were thrown together in Wongok-Dong, social contact with diverse Indonesian migrants in daily life in Korea enables them to perceive their speciality in terms of ethnicity, language use, cultural and religious practices through encountering differences between themselves and other Indonesian ethnic groups.

In the new surroundings in Wongok-Dong, Indonesian migrants reinforce their own boundaries based on shared cultural belief, collective identity and a sense of solidarity deriving from pre-migration periods. As a result of this, segregations within the Indonesian migrant group are unavoidable. In this regard, the regional origin of Indonesian migrants plays a pivotal role in making divisions within the Indonesian group through the building of hometown communities⁶⁶. Each Indonesian hometown community is comprised of people who have shared heritages such as ethnic, language, customs and religion. Based on similarity amongst members, each Indonesian migrant community endeavours to maintain its boundaries in Wongok-Dong.

Having provided the background of the Indonesian migrants in Wongok-Dong, I

⁶⁴ Internal migration from the various regions in Indonesia has led to ethnic diversity in these cities.

⁶⁵ As my informant from Central Java explains: "When I was in Indonesia, I didn't have chances to meet people who are from different regions. So, I do not have knowledge about them. Actually, I'm from small town named Kendal unlike Jakarta. Most of Indonesians here are country people [*Orang Kampung*] like me. It is very difficult to find Jakarta people in Korea. [...] If I were in Jakarta before immigrating to Korea, I could meet Indonesians from different regions." (Anto, 33 years old from Kendal)

⁶⁶ There are nineteen Indonesian hometown communities in Wongok-Dong. See Table 1 in the Appendix for detailed information about this.

will argue that the Indonesian diaspora is separately maintained in Wongok-Dong by groups building their own ethnicities. To support this argument, this chapter examines the criteria employed by Indonesian migrants to emphasise their contrastive identity in relation to 'other Indonesians' through the demarcation of ethnic boundaries. These boundaries are maintained by regional origin, religious belief, language and cultural practices. Based on these factors, I will focus on the symbolic, spatial and social segregation within the Indonesian migrant community in Wongok-Dong.

SYMBOLIC SEGREGATION

Language

In this section, I suggest that the language usage of each Indonesian migrant group contributes to making segregations among them. Indonesians use the official language, Bahasa Indonesia, as a *lingua franca* and they also use their own regional dialects. This hometown language has been spoken by their families and friends and become their mother tongue, whereas Bahasa Indonesia is learned in school. Thus, the official language can be considered as a second language for most Indonesians.

This linguistic diversity contributes to making Indonesian migrants distinguish between 'the inside' and 'the outside'. Basically, they use different languages depending on conditions in their daily lives. For example, Indonesian migrants create 'the inside' by hanging around with their *kawan sekampung* (friends from the same hometown)⁶⁷ and speaking their hometown language. In making this 'inside' amongst particular Indonesian groups, they create 'the outside' for Indonesians who cannot understand the regional

⁶⁷ Basically, Indonesian migrants define *kawan sekampung* as people from the same region in Indonesia. Although Indonesian migrants stress regional origin for qualification as *kawan sekampung*, shared heritages such as language, cultural practices and memories of the hometown are the most important factors for defining *kawan sekampung*.

language. Another ‘outside’ is created by circumstances where they cannot use their regional language but can instead use Bahasa Indonesia

During fieldwork, I often encountered these ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ environments produced by Indonesian migrants. Sometimes I could not understand the conversation of Indonesian migrants when they were speaking their regional language. When I asked about the meaning of their conversation, my informants would say: “Sorry, we speak our hometown language”. They build an atmosphere of ‘the inside’ by using regional languages in public spaces such as restaurants, streets, parks, and so forth. Making ‘the inside’ appeared even more strongly in the closed space of their community gatherings. For example, I had the chance to attend a Sragen community⁶⁸ gathering through an invitation from my key informant from Kendal. When I entered the Indonesian restaurant located in the basement, a band was performing live music. However, I could not understand the meaning of the song and asked my informant, from central Java, about the language. He replied, “this is Bahasa Jawa’. That’s why you cannot understand.” During the performance, I could understand the lyrics of only one song, which was performed in Indonesian. In this gathering, my informant was in the position of ‘insider’. He was invited by one of the members of the Sragen community to attend and could understand all of the conversations at the gathering. Moreover, he really enjoyed the party with his friends in a comfortable atmosphere.

On another occasion, I was invited by a community member to visit a Galok (Gabungan Anak Lombok)⁶⁹ community meeting. I took along the same informant from Central Java. The meeting was held in the headquarters⁷⁰ of the Galok community, which

⁶⁸ Sragen is located in central Java in Indonesia.

⁶⁹ It means son of Lombok, which is the name of the Lombok community.

⁷⁰ It was a very small basement room. On the wall of the house, there were a lot of paintings that symbolised their hometown.

has been maintained by people from Lombok for twelve years. At the meeting there were more than fifty migrants from Lombok in addition to my informant and myself. During the meeting, they discussed creating a new community uniform⁷¹ in their language (*Bahasa Sasak*).⁷² During the discussion my informant seemed uncomfortable. I asked him about this and he explained: “Actually, I cannot join this gathering because they did not invite me. This is the first time to visit Galok community gathering and their house. More importantly, they speak Lombok language (*Bahasa Sasak*). I can’t understand their conversation. So, I feel loneliness (isolation) here.” My informant’s experience was the total opposite of that at the Sragen community party. That is to say, he was in ‘the outside’ position as a person who spoke a different regional language to that of the people of Lombok who were creating the ‘inside’ atmosphere of the meeting.

Indonesian migrants also create an ‘inside’ condition by using regional languages online, particularly on Facebook, which they use to communicate with family and friends.⁷³ Indonesian migrants can easily access the website to talk with people and check what others are talking about. However, speaking a local language on Facebook creates ‘the inside’ context by excluding others who do not understand it. For example, people from Lombok cannot understand conversations that are written in Javanese. The converse is also true. Although Indonesian migrants accept others from different regions as friends on Facebook, they freely have private conversations without consideration for people who cannot understand their language.

⁷¹ Annually, each Indonesian hometown community prepares their *paguyuban* (hometown community) uniform. Under the regulations of the Employment Permit System foreign migrant can stay for four years and ten months in Korea, so Indonesian migrant communities have experienced a frequent inflow and outflow of members. For this reason, they need something to identify newcomers from their hometown in Wongok-Dong. Basically, the name of their region of origin or symbols of their hometowns is printed on t-shirts. Even though they do not know each other, thus, they are able to recognise their homeboys by wearing the uniform.

⁷² I did not understand the contents of the meeting due to the language barrier. After the meeting, I asked one of the members about their discussions.

⁷³ All the Indonesian migrants I met during the fieldwork period have Facebook accounts.

Furthermore, making ‘the inside’ affects how social relationships between Indonesian migrants in Wongok-Dong are built. In other words, speaking regional languages in public spaces contributes to the chances of meeting new Indonesians who speak same language. The conversation below with one Indonesian from Lombok illustrates this.

Researcher: How do you recognise your *kawan sekampung*?

Ardi: Language! If someone speaks my hometown language, I introduce myself to them and start to make a relationship.

Researcher: [I’m pointing to one Indonesian migrant group in the park] How about these Indonesians? Do you understand the meaning of their talk?

Ardi: I don’t understand. [...] They are not my *kawan sekampung*. They are speaking a different language (their hometown language). [...] Also, I cannot approach Indonesians who speak Bahasa Indonesia. I don’t know where they are from. (Ardi, 37 years old, from Lombok)

SPATIAL SEGREGATION

Dwelling

Tonight, I visited Ujang’s house after having dinner. His house is located on the first floor of the multiplex house. Once he arrived there, he called his friends. About two minutes later, four Indonesians from Lombok came there. They were living next door, upstairs and downstairs. (Field note April 2011)

In Wongok-Dong, there is residential segregation based on ethnic enclaves created by Indonesian migrant groups.⁷⁴ In several cases, these enclaves constitute small towns. For example, Indonesians from Lombok live near the central park of Wongok-Dong, there are seven houses for people from Makasar behind *Warung* ‘S’ and the Sundanese live in

⁷⁴ Although most of the Javanese community have their own *Sanggar* (headquarters), they do not form a special enclave. They insist that Javanese is the largest Indonesian migrant group in Wongok-Dong and, for this reason, think that forming an enclave is impossible.

Rasung⁷⁵.

There are two outstanding reasons for the formation of ethnic enclaves in Wongok-Dong. Firstly, they aim to build a 'maintained community life' by reproducing their years in the pre-migration periods. In this regard, the bond between villagers that was formulated before immigration to Korea is reflected in Wongok-Dong⁷⁶. Accordingly, Indonesian migrants endeavour to reproduce their hometown context by living with people from the same village.

Our members live together behind *Warung* 'S'. Do you know the *Sanggar*⁷⁷ (headquarters)? [...] I'm staying there as a leader of community. One of my duties is having regular meetings with community members to find and solve problems. In addition to the *Sanggar*, we have six houses. Each house is occupied by the same villagers from Aspol, Toraja, Balla, Karamoank, Bolae and Bakap in Makasar. (Herwin, 30 years old, from Makasar)

I'm from Lombok. More specifically, I'm from Aikmel. This is a town that is located in west Lombok. All of my housemates are from Aikmel. Next door, there are three friends as well. They are from Masbagaik. (Ujang, 24 years old, from Lombok)

Although the relationship with the village unit is emphasised in the above, this does not imply an absence of solidarity with people from different villages. Based on the usage of the same regional language, cultural practices, and geographical proximity among houses, they can perform various social activities within their ethnic enclave.

It is fun. When my friends go out, I can meet other friends from next door, upstairs and downstairs. I can go everywhere in this building without hesitation. I can eat some food, sleep and everything in the next door. This is Lombok building. [...] We are living in each house but we always share many activities and give

⁷⁵ In terms of gathering their ethnic houses in the same spot, one Indonesian migrant explained, "we would like to live near each other. Agents of real estate rental service let us know once houses empty near the *Sanggar*. Thus, we could make our town this apartment." (Ujang, 24 years old, from Lombok)

⁷⁶ Indonesian migrant groups are influenced by the agricultural society of their homeland. In this society, exchanging labour between villagers is emphasised and this creates close relationships between villagers.

⁷⁷ In the early periods of immigration to Korea, several Indonesian migrant groups established their headquarters by renting a house. Various community gatherings were held in this place.

social support to each other. (Ujang, 24 years old, from Lombok)

Each Indonesian group endeavours to build solidarity between members of the ethnic enclave through various community activities such as prayer meetings, community birthday ceremonies, gatherings during the summer vacation, *Chuseok* (Korean Thanksgiving Day) and *Seol* (Korean New Year). Most of these activities are run by the *Sanggar* and community members visit Wongok-Dong to join the meetings not only from Ansan but also other provinces in Korea. At this point, the existence of their 'town' is particularly useful. Houses near the *Sanggar* play an especially important role in accommodating visitors during these periods. Basically, visitors are accommodated according to their Indonesian village of origin.⁷⁸ Geographical proximity between houses full of *kawan sekampung* contributes to the hometown atmosphere within them and enables Indonesian migrants to exchange social support and strengthen the collective identity of community members within the ethnic enclave during their stay in Korea. In other words, the formation of their own ethnic enclaves allows Indonesian migrants to achieve a 'maintained community life' through intensifying internal solidarity and the building of a hometown atmosphere in Wongok-Dong.

More importantly, formation of an enclave creates an environment that minimises the stress of unfamiliar surroundings and reduces the uncertainties that are caused by living with people with different social backgrounds. As I described earlier, inhabitants of Wongok-Dong consist of both foreign migrants from various countries and Koreans. In the town, the majority of residential buildings are old multiplex houses with, on average, more than ten households in one house (see figure. 3). The window and gate of each unit face a shared hallway. This can cause significant privacy concerns and create unexpected

⁷⁸ This system is called *Rumah Kontrakan* (contracted house). I will provide detailed information about this in the next chapter.

encounters with strangers sharing the house. The multiplex design can create an uncomfortable atmosphere between inhabitants who have different social backgrounds.

In this context, building an ethnic enclave is one of the strategies Indonesian migrant groups use to protect themselves in Wongok-Dong. Indonesian migrants can eliminate strangers around their house by occupying all of the households within a house. For this reason, each Indonesian ethnic enclave is regarded as a safety zone and closed space from strangers. Especially, undocumented migrants are comparatively free from crackdowns within ethnic enclaves because they can avoid unexpected contact with others. Without ethnic enclaves, however, Indonesian migrants can be exposed to dangers. For example, conflict can occur with strangers and strangers might report ‘faults’ to the police. More seriously, both issues might lead to the arrest of undocumented Indonesian migrants. The narrative below addresses the risks experienced by one Javanese hometown community because of their lack of an ethnic enclave:

One weekend night, many friends [*kawan sekampung*] visited our *Sanggar*. At that time, we drank a lot of alcohol and were noisy. Can you imagine! More than fifty people in the small room were shouting. Police came to our *Sanggar*. One Korean who lives upstairs reported us to the police. Unfortunately, our undocumented friends were arrested on the spot. (Anto, 35 years old, from Kendal)

Although several Indonesian migrant groups can achieve a ‘maintained community life’ and minimise the risks of unexpected situations by making their own ethnic enclaves, their main consideration is to create a ‘stranger’-free zone around their houses. It is for this reason that they focus on building social relationships and strengthening solidarity within their community. However, this narrow community focus causes not only a lack of social relationships with Indonesians from different regions, but also difficulties in obtaining information about them.

I asked my informant about the residential area of Indonesian migrants in Wongok-Dong. One Indonesian migrant from West Java said that most of the Indonesians live in Rasung. However, I realised this information was wrong as time went by. Rasung is the ethnic enclave of Sundanese. He had, instead, informed me of the residential district of his ethnic group. (Field note 4 June 2011)

That is, ethnic segregation caused my informant to assume his enclave represented all Indonesians in Wongok-Dong. Although he knew of the existence of other Indonesian groups in Wongok-Dong, he could not inform me about where they lived because of a lack of social relationships with them.

Patterns of food consumption

I was walking on the street with my informant. On the way to Antioch International Church⁷⁹, we could see the inside of the Thai restaurant through a big window. A big party was held there. On the stage, two people who looked Thai were singing a song. Many members of the audience were dancing in front of the stage. My informant expressed his regret about the existence of many Indonesian restaurants in Wongok-Dong. He said that “we have a lot of Indonesian restaurants here. Because of this, it’s very difficult to gather Indonesian migrants together in one restaurant. If we have one Indonesian restaurant, we can do that”. (Field note 15 August 2011)

In addition to building ethnic enclaves, patterns of Indonesian migrant food consumption also play a pivotal role in group demarcation. In terms of boundary making through food consumption, Lupton (1996: 25–26) points out that, “food is instrumental in making differences between cultures, serving to strengthen group identity ... food and culinary practices thus hold an extraordinary power in defining the boundaries between ‘us’ and ‘them’”. The flavour of food and Islamic rules relating to food preparation and consumption, in particular, create spatial segregation. There are many Indonesian

⁷⁹ Indonesian Christian church.

restaurants⁸⁰ in Wongok-Dong compared to other national migrant restaurants. Although my informant pointed out that the number of Indonesian restaurants hinders the building of social relationships among Indonesian migrants, what he's trying to express is that Indonesians' choice of restaurant is dictated by the diversity of ethnic groups within the Indonesian diaspora. Moreover, his comment highlights the potential of restaurants as places for building social relationships amongst Indonesians.

Although the majority of Indonesian restaurants focus on selling Javanese dishes due to the size of this ethnic group, particular restaurants attract certain ethnic groups. For example, *Warung* 'H' is called a Lombok restaurant, *Warung* 'S' is crowded with people from West Java and Indonesians from Makasar can easily be found in *Warung* 'A'.

Indonesian migrants have various reasons for making a selection among many Indonesian restaurants, but two factors are regarded as key. The first one is similarity to their hometown cooking taste and flavours. Each Indonesian migrant group has its own, shared memories about home food and its taste. Therefore, each group tries to find an Indonesian restaurant that can reproduce the foods and tastes that they remember. For this reason, most of the restaurants employ Indonesian migrants as cooks. However, the taste of food is determined by the regional origin of the cooks. Therefore, each restaurant can recruit regular customers from certain regions from Indonesia.

Warung 'S' is the restaurant for Sundanese. [...] The cook is from 'Jawa Barat' (West Java). That's why she can only cook the food of that region. I usually go there to eat home food. (Zhungk, 35 years old, from Cirebon)

I worked as a cook at a small hotel in Korea. At that time, I made Indian food. [...] I studied Indonesian cooking in Indonesia for one year. More exactly, I learned Javanese food. That's why most of my customers are Javanese. Sometimes, Lombok people visit my

⁸⁰ There were thirteen Indonesian restaurants in Wongok-Dong while I was there between October 2010 to September 2011.

restaurant. However, the dishes of my restaurant are not spicy enough for them. Especially, the people from Lombok usually go to *Warung* 'H' because Samonim (the wife of the restaurant owner) is from Lombok and she is the cook as well. [...] They like spicy food. (P, Indonesian restaurant, Korean owner)

Religious taboos are also important in choosing a restaurant. The majority of Indonesian migrants are Muslim and the most important consideration to them is whether the food is *halal*. The consumption of alcohol, pork, blood, carrion, and meat that has not been slaughtered according to Islamic rules are all prohibited. Nevertheless, several Indonesian restaurants serve alcohol, regarded as *haram* (sinful). Even though most Indonesians introduce themselves as Muslim, some of them are open to drinking alcohol. Two Indonesian migrants show the reasons for drinking alcohol in Korea.

We could not drink alcohol in Indonesia. We are from the countryside in Indonesia. It is a very small town. Most of the villagers know each other. I could not drink there. They know my parents. However I am free from those people in Korea. (Anto, 35 years old, from Kendal)

We are Muslim. In Indonesia, I cannot drink alcohol too much due to the presence of my parents, brother and sisters. I can drink as much as I want here. (Mahidin, 36 years old, from Lombok)

Once they arrived in Korea, these two, and many others, experienced a loss of acquaintances from Indonesia. This means that Indonesians in their twenties and thirties have the chance to lose their self-control in the anonymity of Korean society. They stress the absence of existing networks in their host society to explain their drinking behaviours in Korea. However, the Indonesians whom I met in the masjid strongly criticised people who drink alcohol and the Indonesian restaurants that provide haram food in Wongok-Dong:

Acting properly is not for my father and mother in Korea. We just do it for Allah wherever we are. Therefore, we should do that in Korea as well. Eating pork and drinking alcohol are strictly

prohibited by Islamic ruling. However, Indonesians drink alcohol a lot. [...] Several Indonesian restaurants sell alcohol to Indonesian Muslims. This is very bad. [...] I always go to *Warung* 'B'. We can obtain *halal* foods there. Most Indonesians know that is a *halal* restaurant. (Mati, 38 years old, Jakarta)

These Indonesian migrants recognised that there are two kinds of restaurants, *halal* and *haram*. Some avoid visiting *haram* restaurants, while other Indonesian migrants go to these restaurants without considering Islamic rules. In other words, Indonesians who have strong Islamic belief endeavour to ensure and maintain spatial segregation as far as possible. They do so by laying a deliberate emphasis on the Islamic avoidance of alcohol. They are not simply adhering to dietary prescriptions for their own sake. Rather, they are actively employing dietary differences as a means to separate and segregate themselves from the Indonesians who break the Islamic rules around food consumption.

SOCIAL SEGREGATION

Regional origin

Sunday afternoon, I was walking along the 'Damunhwagil' [multicultural road] in Wongok-Dong and noticed many Indonesians wearing a special t-shirt. They are bunched together in many places. However, I realised differences between Indonesian groups in front of the Plaza and Ansan migrant centre. T-shirt contained different name of regions in Indonesia and symbolic pictures. (Field note, 8 May 2011)

Indonesian migrants do not willingly mix with 'other Indonesians' due to their differences in regional origin. Therefore, social segregation is maintained among each Indonesian migrant group. In particular, Indonesian migrants have different points of view for defining the relationship with their *kawan sekampung* and 'other Indonesians'. Furthermore, they have divided Indonesians in their own minds as described in the previous sections.

The following narratives show their recognition of two kinds of Indonesians and their different relationships with each.

I don't have many Indonesian friends. More precisely, Indonesians have different hometowns. Most of the Indonesians are Javanese but I'm from Sumatra. [...] I know only fifteen Indonesians from Padang. Ten of them live in Ansan. Although I know many Indonesians, they are different from people from Padang. [...] I rarely hang around these people. (Uda, 38 years old, from Padang)

Look at this! [He shows his mobile phone to me] I have many friends, more than two hundred in Korea. But I divide these people into two groups. One group is from my hometown (*kawan sekampung*) and the other is just Indonesians.⁸¹ Here ... seventy-six people are hometown friends. I applied different settings on my phone to identify who is calling me. Different music is ringing depending on the group. [...] I don't want to respond to all calls from Indonesians who are not a homeboy. Their calls are only for business. It's annoying. [...] Socialising with them makes me uncomfortable. (Anto, 35 years old, from Kendal)

Therefore, the shared heritage of regional origin plays an important role in forming the mixed social relationships among Indonesian migrants. In this closed relationship, Indonesian migrants do not have a chance to socialise with 'other Indonesians' in spite of living together in the town. However, they are required to spend a fixed amount of time in their workspace with 'others', giving them greater experience of other Indonesian groups. However, encountering the differences of other Indonesian groups can cause conflict in the workspace.

Although I don't have conflicts with Koreans and other people, I have suffered from socialising with Indonesians who came from Lombok in our factory. I would like to leave my company. There are about thirty Indonesians in our company. However, most of them are from Lombok. I'm from Padang in Sumatra. We have a different language. I could not understand their language. They also harass me during the working time. Because of that, I have to

⁸¹ Friends from hometown (76) and the other regions (193).

quit my job. (Uda, 38 years old, Padang in Sumatra)

I met Javanese in Korea. But they are not similar to us. I do not hate people from Java. I just do not socialise with those people. Although we are good at our work in the factory, they always talk to the boss [a Korean] behind our backs. This is distinctly below the belt, isn't it? We [people from Lombok] already talk a lot about this and feel the same about Javanese. (Joni, 27 years old, from Lombok)

These negative emotions, accumulated at work, spill into the public spaces of Wongok-Dong where, in contrast to the workplace, Indonesian migrants freely express their attitudes toward other Indonesians. In public spaces, different Indonesian groups shout curses at each other Indonesians and gang fights sometimes occur. In some severe cases, there have also been murders.

We have a bad relationship with people from Lombok. Last year, one of our *kawan sekampung* was killed by them in the park. Yesterday, we had a fight with them in *warung* again. [...] they talk badly to us. On the street, they shout at us saying like 'hey son of bitch'. (Agil, 33 years old, from Bandung).

Several Indonesians have directly experienced conflicts with other Indonesian groups. This serves to reinforce stereotypes about 'other Indonesians'. In addition, observations and indirect experiences yield negative attitudes towards other groups. For example, Indonesian migrants might witness or hear about various affairs in Wongok-Dong. Among these affairs, Indonesian migrants display an interest in the conflicts between Indonesians and the crackdown of undocumented migrants by Korean authorities. In both cases, they place the blame not only on the aggressive attitudes of other groups, but also on their illegal actions.

People from Lombok are very tough. A few days ago, there was a fight between those from Lombok and East Timor in Wongok-Dong. They always make a problem here. I do not want to socialise with them. (Ashdin, 34 years old, from Ceribon)

We are not similar with other Indonesian migrant groups in Korea.

Even though there are several undocumented workers in our community, the number of these people is not many compared to other Indonesian migrant communities. When our visa is expired, we usually go back to our country. However, other community members have different ideas. (Herwin, 30 years old, from Makasaar)

Even though they point out the faults of ‘others’ in Korean society, what they really want to say to me is that they are different from those people. In other words, members in their community are not troublemakers, but innocent people in Korean society.

Islamic doctrine

Islamic doctrine is used to create social segregation amongst Indonesian migrants. We saw above that food consumption patterns contribute to spatial segregation among Indonesian migrants. In particular, Islamic rules about consuming food play a dominant role in enhancing difficulties of socialising amongst Indonesian groups. Similarly, several Indonesians in their hometown communities do not comply with Islamic doctrines, not only drinking alcohol but also living with women outside marriage. Strongly religious Indonesians endeavour to avoid these people by themselves avoiding the hometown community gathering. For example, some Indonesian migrants consider it more important to meet the community in *masjid* rather than the hometown community. In doing so, they want to minimise the possibility of exposing themselves to these ‘irreligious’ people. Two Indonesian migrants who I met in *masjid* explained it in the following way:

In the early period of life in Wongok-Dong, I participated in *paguyuban* activities. But they always drank alcohol and went to *noraebang* [Korean karaoke]⁸² to hang around with women. In addition, some people in *paguyuban* do gambling. I hate that [...] I don’t want to go to *paguyuban* gathering. So, Indonesians who want to pray come to *masjid* like me. (Yanto, 25 years old, from Cilacap)

⁸² *Noraebang*, or Korean Karaoke, also provides sexual services.

Many Indonesians go to *noraebang* and drink alcohol. Muslims never do that. Also, Muslims have to avoid living together with women without being legally married but a lot of Indonesians did it in Wongok-Dong. Eating pork and drinking are strictly prohibited. We always say this but it is useless. It is a big problem. (Mati, 38 years old, from Jakarta)

In response to these issues, some Indonesians stress the importance of the *masjid*, insisting that to relieve the problems caused by breaking Islamic rules Indonesian migrants should come to *masjid* for prayer. They think that the mosque is a safe place from other ‘polluted Indonesians’.

Several years ago, we did not have our own Islamic temple in Wongok-Dong. At that time, many Indonesians went to Suwon⁸³ and *noraebang* [karaoke]. [...] drinking a lot [...]. There were many fights between drunken Indonesians. We have our *masjid* in Wongok-Dong. So, when Indonesians are depressed here, they can pray in *masjid*. It makes them calm and comfortable. But, many Indonesians do not come to *masjid*. These Indonesians are drinkers. They cannot come here because they feel shy rather than fear. (Mati, 38 years old, from Jakarta)

The Indonesians whom I met in *masjid* were calling themselves ‘*masjid* people’ in order to distinguish themselves from other groups. ‘*masjid* people’ stressed the importance of following Islamic rules as justification for their separation from these people. In fact, they are reluctant to make social relationships with ‘polluted Indonesians’ who break the Islamic taboos.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have argued that Indonesian migrants maintain difference in Wongok-Dong by building their own ethnicities, based on maintaining the distinctive identity connected with their homeland. The diversity of ethnicities created by the Indonesian

⁸³ There are brothels in Suwon.

diaspora means that it cannot be defined as a homogeneous group. In particular, this chapter has argued that these ethnicities demarcate ‘us’ and ‘them’ through symbolic, spatial and social segregations within Indonesian migrant groups.

The language usage of each Indonesian migrant group contributes to making a symbolic segregation within their diaspora. Indonesian migrants are building ‘the inside’ environments by speaking their regional language. At the same time, ‘other’ Indonesians’ are constructed who speak different regional languages who are therefore exposed as ‘the outside’ position. Namely, through speaking regional languages, Indonesian migrants could build solidarities and social relationships with people who have the same regional language and protect their private and public spaces in Wongok-Dong from ‘other Indonesians’ who cannot understand their language.

Spatial segregation appears within the Indonesian migrant community through the formation of separate residential districts. Indonesian migrants build their own enclaves to maximise a ‘maintained community life’, derived from their homeland, and minimise the uncertainties caused by strangers in Wongok-Dong. Moreover, Indonesian migrants’ different patterns of food consumption have also led to spatial divisions. Indonesian migrants become regular patrons of particular Indonesian restaurants because they serve familiar regional food or adhere to religious rules around consuming food. These spatial segregations cause the isolation of Indonesian migrants from what they deem to be ‘other Indonesians’.

On the basis of symbolic and spatial divisions, social segregation within the Indonesian diaspora is unavoidable. Regional origin is emphasised by Indonesian migrants to explain their closed relationships with other Indonesians. In addition, ‘*masjid* people’ blame various perceived faults on many ‘other Indonesians’ in Korea by stressing the importance of Islamic doctrines. Indonesian migrants’ use of regional origin and Islamic

doctrine to distinguish between 'us' and 'them' implies that they do not have a relationship with 'other Indonesians'.

Therefore, Indonesian migrants have tried to maintain their distinctive identities by emphasising elements that link them to their homeland, such as their use of regional languages, cultural practices and religious beliefs. However, they have maintained their identities by focusing on their hometown rather than Indonesia. Stressing shared heritages from pre-migration periods, they have inherently distinguished themselves from others. In other words, Indonesian migrants have been in the process of forming ethnicities in Wongok-Dong. As a result of this, the Indonesian diasporic community in Wongok-Dong is maintained separately. In this regard, the Indonesian diaspora group must be defined as a heterogeneous group that has internal diversity. This conclusion provides a different perspective on diaspora to that which defines it as comprising a homogeneous national immigrant group. In the next chapter I will present the Indonesian diaspora as a heterogeneous group in Wongok-Dong and explore the opportunities for boundary transcendence within Indonesian migrant groups.

CHAPTER 6. BOUNDARY TRANSCENDENCE OF INDONESIAN MIGRANTS

Mahidin: I'm illegal now.⁸⁴ So, I'm looking for a job with the assistance of my friends.

Researcher: Where are they from?

Mahidin: They are from Manado [Christian]⁸⁵, Bali and Yogyakarta.

Researcher: Why don't you ask people from Lombok?

Mahidin: I did not buy a Lombok t-shirt. I'm not a person who has only GALOK⁸⁶ identity, but a national person. (Mahidin, 36 years old, from Lombok)

NATIONALITY, ETHNICITY AND SEGMENTED INDONESIAN MIGRANTS IN WONGOK-DONG

In this chapter I argue that disparate Indonesian migrants are in reality connected to one another in ways that transcend the boundaries of their local affiliations. In the previous chapter, I argued that the Indonesian diaspora in Korea can be viewed as numerous, separate groupings based on their affiliations to local languages and regions (or localities) of Indonesia. Although the Indonesian immigrant group maintains its distinct identity through following the diaspora feature of homeland-orientation, Indonesian immigrants maintain separate boundaries due to social cleavages within the diaspora group.

⁸⁴ Illegal migrants cannot find jobs through formal routes. The only way to get a job is by using their networks.

⁸⁵ Mahidin is Muslim.

⁸⁶ Gabungan Anak Lombok: Son of Lombok

Consequently, the key feature of the Indonesian diaspora might more specifically be defined as 'hometown-orientation' rather than 'homeland-orientation'.

In addition to homeland-orientation, scholars have further emphasised hybridity, fluidity, creolisation and syncretism as features of diaspora (Brah, 1996; Hall, 1993; Clifford, 1994). In this regard, Clifford (1994) insists that diaspora processes subvert the idea of the modern state. However, because Indonesian immigrants separately maintain their boundaries in Wongok-Dong, totally different outcomes can be yielded when we apply the notion of hybridity to the Indonesian diaspora group. That is, it is possible for Indonesians to strengthen national identity by transforming their identities. In this regard, I will describe how migrants engage in behaviours that result in enhanced intercultural connections across Indonesian linguistic/local groups, and consequently create shared lived experiences as Indonesian migrants in Wongok-Dong. To analyse these experiences I will adapt the concepts of ethnicity both instrumentalist and situationalist approaches.

According to the instrumentalist approach, ethnicity is 'socially constructed' (Barth 1969). More specifically, ethnic identities, groups and shared notions of 'culture' and history are consciously constructed for the specific purposes of particular group (Anderson, 1983; Eriksen, 2002; Brass, 1991). However, situationalists point out neglect of individual's rational choice of these approaches. That is, situational approaches focus on that how individuals choose their membership by particular situations ethnicity that is produced by particular situations (Banton, 1994; Okamura, 1981). Therefore, ethnic identity can be used instrumentally for the individual's or group's interest (Smith, 1991). The Indonesian diaspora in Wongok-Dong shares features of both approaches to ethnicity. As I described in the previous chapter, Indonesian migrants differentiate among themselves through their varied backgrounds in regional origin, religious belief, language and 'cultural' practices. In this chapter, I argue that despite their varied backgrounds, we see the existence

of a complex form of Indonesian nationality among migrants that is a composite of their differences and multi-layered identities. For this reason, I suggest that Indonesian migrants develop the ability to negotiate their identities according to changing conditions in Korea. Namely, Indonesian immigrants emphasise their national identity as an Indonesian rather than their regional affiliation following perspectives of instrumentalist and situationalist.

After migrating to Korea, Indonesian migrants need to sustain their way of life in Wongok-Dong with behaviours and practices that contrast with those previously adopted in their hometowns. In Wongok-Dong, they are able to encounter 'other Indonesians' who have different linguistic, regional and social backgrounds. Moreover, they also recognise the presence of Koreans and foreigners from various countries. Within these dynamic circumstances, Indonesian migrants realise they need to develop new ways of adapting themselves to their surroundings.

Under the new circumstances in Wongok-Dong, Indonesian migrants reveal their latent tendency towards national identity. Basically, the Indonesian government and Indonesian nationalists have endeavoured to promote national integration since the country's independence from colonial rule in the 1940s. They have stressed shared national characteristics to achieve the Indonesian motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity) and emphasised enhanced national consciousness, loyalty and interests over local bonds and ethnic and regional loyalties among Indonesians. Although Indonesian migrants have maintained primordial bonds with their *kawan sekampung*, they have also the potential to identify as Indonesian. Based on this, Indonesian migrants have had various experiences. On the one hand, they have suffered from harsh conditions in Korea as a host country. In this regard, separated Indonesian immigrants enhance solidarity among themselves through activities designed to overcome their vulnerable position as foreign migrants. As a result, Indonesian immigrants may have a chance to transcend the boundaries formed during the

pre-migration period. For example, many Indonesian migrants enjoy their life in Korea, which they view as a land of opportunity. As such, they rearrange their identity according to the conditions they face in Korea, using these as opportunities to transcend the boundaries of linguistic and regional affiliations in Wongok-Dong.

Having provided the background, I will suggest that Indonesian migrants build national identity through creating a new form of ethnicity in Wongok-Dong. To support this central argument of the chapter, I examine how Indonesian migrants transcend boundaries to enhance bonds between previously separated Indonesian migrant diaspora groups in response to various ‘challenges’ and ‘opportunities’ in Korea. This discussion will contribute to the diaspora debate by providing the relationship between the hybridity of separated Indonesian diaspora groups and the nation-state in Wongok-Dong.

CHALLENGES

In this section I will explore the various challenges experienced by Indonesian migrants in Wongok-Dong and how these have contributed to boundary transcendence. Indonesian migrants face unfamiliar and insecure conditions after their immigration to Korea. They occupy positions as foreign migrant workers from a less-developed country and as minorities within a more homogeneous Korean social fabric. Therefore, Indonesian migrants, who have less power relative to their Korean hosts, have realised the need to adjust themselves.

In this regard, Indonesian migrants have sought to establish an integrated ‘Indonesian community’ due to various pressures exerted by the Korean government. In the early 2000s, the majority of foreign migrant workers emigrated to Korea through the Industrial Trainee System (ITS). However, as I described in Chapter 2, the ITS caused unexpected problems. For this reason, the Korean government created the Employment

Permit System (EPS) to replace the ITS. However, the Korean government decided to deport a large number of undocumented workers before launching the EPS. A huge nationwide crackdown followed from the end of 2003 to early 2004. During this period, undocumented migrants were indiscriminately arrested not only in private, but also in public spaces. For example, Korean government officials arrested foreign workers who were commuting to work or having dinner in their houses. These intense crackdowns caused a lot of demonstrations in Korea.

In response to the situation, Indonesian migrants bonded together beyond their regional origin by establishing the Indonesian Community in Korea (ICC) in 2006 in Ansan. Its founding members were Indonesian migrants from various regions such as Lombok (NTB), Kendal, Sragen, Magelang (Central Java), Bengkulu (Sumatra), Jawa Barat (West Java), and Sulawesi. One Indonesian representative of the ICC reflected on its founding:

In fact, there were frequent conflicts between Indonesians in Ansan. For instance, Javanese fought with people from Lombok. These struggles had continued in this town. Because of these situations, I could not go out as I wanted to. I was very afraid. In 2004, however, we participated in a demonstration against the huge crackdown of the Korean government. At that time, Indonesian migrants, who have different social background, could meet in the same place and talk about our conflicts. We said that “we must stop fighting each other and try to secure our human rights first.” These actions contributed to making the foundation of the ICC. In 2006, the ICC was established by representatives of different local Indonesian communities. (Asry, 45 years old, from Bima)

Although they could receive the assistance of local civil society organisations (NGOs and religious institutions) in Korea, Indonesian migrants recognised that they had to enhance the sense of solidarity among themselves, rather than to exacerbate regional conflicts as they demonstrated against the crackdown. In other words, Indonesian migrants realised that fighting together for their human rights was the most important action for

sustaining their livelihoods in Korea. During this time, members of the ICC established a more regulated form of coordination among the movement after gathering opinions from each Indonesian *paguyuban*. In doing so, they fostered cooperation to overcome the problems being experienced by Indonesians in Wongok-Dong.

Although the ICC was created to cope with the crackdown, it soon began to meet migrants' other needs in Korea, such as protecting their vulnerable position, promoting greater cohesion among separate Indonesian groups and organising various events. For instance, Indonesians facing problems, such as the withholding of wages or violence in their workplace, are able to request assistance from the ICC.⁸⁷ Moreover, undocumented workers can make a SPLP (*Surat Perjalanan Laksana Paspor*, a trusted traveller's certificate) through this organisation instead of visiting the Indonesian embassy.⁸⁸ In addition, the ICC has held cultural, religious, and sporting events to encourage greater unity among different Indonesian groups in Wongok-Dong.

Although these activities have enhanced cohesion among Indonesians in Wongok-Dong, the presence of ICC executives from various regions, such as east, central and west Java, Lombok, Sulawesi, Sumatra, and Bima, has proved more important. The ICC executives have played a pivotal role in promoting greater unity since they notice and help resolve the problems of Indonesian migrants from every *paguyuban*.

Several days ago, I heard about an incident of an Indonesian woman from Kediri (East Java) who killed herself in her house. I don't know exactly why she did that. [...] ICC will do our best. We will hold a prayer meeting for her on Saturday. [...] Did you say hometown? We do not care about that. She is not only the friend of my friend, but also an Indonesian. (Asry, 45 years old, from Bima)

⁸⁷ Even though it cannot directly solve these problems, the ICC as a representative organisation for Indonesians in Korea asks Korean civil organisations for help to resolve troubles.

⁸⁸ Most Indonesian migrants stay in Ansan. Thus, the Indonesian ambassador, who is located in Seoul, is too far for Indonesian immigrants. By providing this service, the ICC enables undocumented migrants to avoid the possibility of crackdown outside Ansan.

In addition, many conflicts between *paguyubans* are settled through the intercession of the ICC. Most *paguyubans* are linked to the ICC through *kawan sekampung* working as executives in the ICC. The cooperation between colleagues within the ICC to resolve incidents meant that, while conflicts still occurred, they were less serious than before.

You know the characteristic of Indonesians. Although Indonesians are not closely banded together in their country, they are strongly united in Korea. Especially, the *paguyuban* is the most important unit for their solidarity. There were a lot of conflicts between *paguyubans* a few years ago. If there was a fight, they telephone for their *kawan sekampung* to join that conflict. This led to fights within groups. Sometimes people were killed. Several years ago, *paguyuban* incited their *kawan sekampung* to fight with Indonesians from other *paguyuban*. But these days they try to make peace through mediation. If other Indonesians are wounded by their members, they are asking for reconciliation by giving money in compensation for their faults. (P, Indonesian restaurant a Korean owner)

Through these processes, ICC members and Indonesian migrants realised that troubles among Indonesian migrants were not simply the concern of others, but the concern of all Indonesians. Due to their shared negative experiences in Korea, Indonesian migrants have created social relationships beyond the local bonds that were formed back in Indonesia. As a result of this, Indonesian migrants have transformed their regional loyalties into a greater sense of national interest and consciousness. The following demonstrates this:

Indonesian migrants do not care about their regional origins. I've always said that I hate *paguyuban*. But I felt that way because I love Indonesia. When people in different *paguyuban* meet in the same place, they do not talk to each other. This is not *ke-bhinekaan* [unity in diversity]. I'm from Sulawesi. But as you know, I have many friends from different regions of Indonesia in Wongok-Dong. We are different, but we are Indonesian in Korea. (Karim, 34 years old, from Sulawesi)

In addition to the pressures from the Korean government, other problems in their

daily life have provided opportunities for Indonesian migrants to transcend boundaries. Indonesian migrants have suffered many difficulties, such as the withholding of wages, illness, violence in the workplace, immigration problems, industrial accidents and so on. Although Indonesian migrants obtain support from their Indonesian friends to help them adapt to conditions in Korea, they find it hard to cope in the face of these problems because of their lack of Korean language skills and their position as foreign migrants.

This is Korea, but we are Indonesian. There are few things that we can do as an Indonesian here. [...] If my boss [Korean] does not give a salary to me, I don't know how to get the money from him. Exactly, Indonesians don't know the regulation for this. Although we can speak Korean, we have still difficulties to understand. Regulations for foreign migrants are difficult to understand. In addition, I had horrible experiences in hospital. I could not understand at all. So, we need Koreans. (Mati, 42 years old, from Jakarta)

In this context, counselling provided by the Antioch International Community (AIC) has played an important role in solving various problems of Indonesian migrants in Korea. The AIC was founded in 1995 and run by Korean Christians. In its early years, foreign migrants from Indonesia, Philippines and Bangladesh worshiped together in the church. Church members provided services such as counselling and worship to the migrants. However, the diversity of the migrants meant that Korean had to be spoken for activities. This was not easy for both Korean Christians and foreign migrants. To overcome this issue, the AIC decided to focus their counselling and worship activities on Indonesian migrants using Korean Christians who could speak Indonesian. As a result, several Indonesian migrants converted from Islam to Christianity through the activities of the AIC:

In the early 2000s, seven Indonesian migrants converted from Islam to Christianity. They wanted to find some agency to obtain assistance to overcome various troubles in the early period of their migration. Thus, they became the members of our church. However, I could not see this case recently. (A Korean Christian in

AIC)

My informant explained that these days there are no more conversions of Muslim Indonesians to Christianity.⁸⁹ However, although Indonesians might no longer change their religion in order to access the support provided by the AIC, the church still provides connections between Muslim and Christian Indonesian migrants in Wongok-Dong. The AIC has helped break the prejudices of Muslim Indonesian migrants against Christianity formed during pre-migration periods. The converse is also true.

I suffered from many problems in Korea. At that time, I received help from Koreans. Do you know Mr. Nam? I did not receive my wage from the company – he solved this problem. Although he is Christian, he did not pressure me to convert to Christianity. He just helped me. [...] Frankly speaking, I was afraid of obtaining assistance from the AIC since they are Christians. But they are the same people like us. (Mahidin, 36 years old, from Lombok)

We have assisted Indonesian migrants for the propagation of Christianity. Do you know? Most Indonesians in Ansan are Muslim. Although it is very hard to convert from Islam to Christianity, our activities are useful to abolish Muslim Indonesians' prejudices against Christianity. Basically, Muslim Indonesians had negative attitudes to Christianity back in Indonesia. For example, some Indonesian Muslims do not want to pass our building since this is a Christian church. However, they develop different perspectives about us through experiences in Wongok-Dong. We [Koreans and Indonesians in church] can help them. Similarly, we also had the chance to understand Muslim Indonesians through visiting the Indonesian Islamic mosque [*Sirothal Mustaqim*]. I had prejudice about Muslims and Islam, but now I think differently. (Antioch International Church Reverend)

Indonesian migrants have consequently acquired an awareness of other religions.

This means that the first principle of *Panca sila* has been achieved in Wongok-Dong.

Although Indonesia is the biggest Muslim country in the world, Islam is not the state

⁸⁹ After the mid-2000s, Indonesian migrants extended their Korean networks to include non-Christian organisations and Korean merchants in Wongok-Dong. As a result of this, Indonesian migrants' dependence upon the activities of the AIC decreased.

religion. Under the *Panca sila*, the first principle affirms the belief in one ‘Supreme Being’, and five religions are officially recognised in the country: Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism and Buddhism. Nevertheless, understandings of other religions were negative due to Indonesians’ isolation as *orang kampung* (country boys) during pre-migration periods. However, creating social relationships and obtaining support from people of different religious backgrounds provides a crucial opportunity to create more harmony among Indonesians in Wongok-Dong:

Are you *saudara* (brother)? I like the Antioch International Community. [...] I was a chairman of ICC.⁹⁰ During that time, many Indonesian migrants have suffered from various problems, and they asked me to solve their troubles. Thus, I often contacted the Antioch International Community. Reverend Nam solved many problems of the Indonesian migrants. I was so impressed. [...] In Indonesia, conflicts have appeared due to differences of religious belief among Indonesians. However, we have achieved harmony in Korea. It’s amazing isn’t it? This is what Indonesians want. (Harris, 37 years old, from Bandung)

OPPORTUNITIES

In addition to the negative experience that stimulates boundary transcendence, Indonesian migrants to Korea encounter various opportunities that provide positive chances to transcend boundaries within the diaspora. Before migrating, Indonesians may have experienced unemployment, or low wages making it difficult to sustain a viable livelihood. In comparison, Korea provides the opportunity to earn a lot of money. On the basis of this economic stability, Indonesian migrants have developed new capabilities in South Korea.

When I was young, about twenty-three years old, there was a broadcasting station near my house. At that time, people who held the cameras looked very nice to me. Since then, I have wanted to

⁹⁰ ICC is the Muslim community. There are no Christians in this community.

become a professional cameraman. However, I did not have money before coming here. [...] In Korea, immediately after obtaining a salary, I bought a Sony camera. But it was not good. So, I bought a second-hand Canon camera from Amin [his friend]. In addition, I have a Canon movie camera. [...] I'm studying photography and media to achieve my dreams. (Kalim, 34 years old, from Sulawesi)

Although economic stability provides opportunities for change, socio-economic conditions in Korea have played a pivotal role in enhancing the extra-curricular, vocational and professional activities of certain Indonesian migrants. In their minds, Korea is a well-advanced Asian country and they enjoy its cosmopolitanism and the vibrancy of its developed cities and historical tourist sites. They are proud of having the opportunity to live in a modern country. As a result, a new group of Indonesians has emerged with aspirations of becoming photographers and models.

When I was in Indonesia, I worked as a model and a master of ceremonies for eight years. However, I could not earn enough money there. So I decided to migrate to Korea. [...] I have taken a lot of photos since I arrived in Korea. I visited many places such as Myeong-Dong, Gyeongbok Palace, and so forth for modelling. [...] Several days ago, I went to Seoul and had photos taken of me in Kangnam bus terminal. The concept was 'Love in *Ramadan*'. So, I prepared an Islamic dress. Can you imagine! I was wearing an Islamic costume at the centre of Seoul city in the midst of Koreans. I really enjoyed it! And I'm proud of myself as well. [...] I have sent the photos back to entertainment agencies in Indonesia. This is preparing me for my future job as a top model in Indonesia. (Herman, 31 years old, from Bima)

In addition to this, Indonesian migrants have opportunities to learn about Korean lifestyles and values. Ansan Migrant Community Service Centre has provided several sports and education programmes to foreign migrant workers. Among these programmes, Taekwondo (Korean traditional martial arts) is one of the most popular for Indonesian migrants. Therefore, they are pursuing certain aspirations for personal growth, while taking

advantage of the conditions provided in Korea.

I have a dream to obtain my second dan [second grade] of Taekwondo. Even though many Indonesians want to learn Taekwondo in Indonesia, it is very hard to find a Taekwondo academy. However, I can learn Taekwondo without payment at Ansan foreign migrant centre. This was a great opportunity for me. [...] I want to be a Taekwondo master in Indonesia. If I passed the test for obtaining second dan in November, I will go back to my country. [...] Money? It's enough. (Ahmad, 36 years old, from Sragen)

Even though there are many extra activities such as football clubs, music bands and religious gatherings within their *paguyuban*, the activities addressed above are performed outside of their *paguyuban*. In other words, several Indonesian migrants were not able to learn and pursue their interests within their community. In fact, taking photos is not popular among Indonesian migrants and finding people studying photography within their *paguyuban* was difficult. After 2009, however, many Indonesian migrants have started to use Facebook.⁹¹ Using this website, they can easily update their status in Korea with photos, create social contacts with other Indonesian migrants, and easily access and share information with others. Through these activities, Indonesian migrants can build social relationships beyond their existing network. Therefore, eager to take part in these activities, they look for someone beyond their *paguyuban* to help them.

Indonesian migrants have thus achieved mixed social relationships beyond the boundaries created by linguistic and regional affiliations. During my fieldwork, I encountered several mixed social events. One day, I participated in a gathering of an Indonesian migrant group. When I arrived in Rasung, I saw many Indonesians who had professional cameras and suitcases. This was the gathering of 'Be the talent', a photography club (see figure 7). In the suitcases there were various costumes for outdoor photography.

⁹¹ Before using Facebook, Indonesian migrants usually used Yahoo Messenger for chatting via video or text.

The gathering was an official activity to mark the establishment of the club. At that time, members discussed various matters, such as the formulation of the club regulations, election of the chairman, preparation of a club t-shirt and so on. This was similar to the activities of the *paguyubans*. However, the eleven Indonesians at the event were from Blitar, Bandung, Sragen, Sulawesi, Kendal, Sumatra and Bima. I asked them, “how did you guys meet each other? Why did you decide to establish this club?” Saiful from Bandung answered, “we met each other through Facebook. Especially, I saw a lot of pictures of members and made comments. Friends also press the ‘like’ button in the bottom of my pictures. This contributed to the formation of the club”.

Figure 7. Activity of Indonesian photography club⁹²



In addition, I had the chance to participate in a Taekwondo *seung dan/gep simsa* (upgrading test) in Ansan Foreign Migrant Centre. There were foreign migrants from China, Philippines, Indonesian, Vietnam and Uzbekistan. I found a lot of familiar faces amongst Indonesian migrants. They were Muslim (Lombok), Ahmad (Seragen), Reza (Purowodadi),

⁹² Source: one anonymous Indonesian Facebook

Yunus (Banyuwangi), Herwin (Makasar), and so forth. Before the test, one Korean Taekwondo master said, “even though the Chinese group is the biggest group in this Taekwondo club, there is only one participant.” However, a lot of Indonesian migrants took the test and I was able to confirm the number of Indonesians who participated after the event. The Indonesian migrants rented *Warung* ‘P’ to celebrate their successful performance in the upgrading test. The small restaurant was full of people; there were over forty Indonesians and several Korean Taekwondo masters. I heard one Korean Taekwondo master’s evaluation of Indonesians:

There are about sixty Indonesians in the Taekwondo club. They are one of the largest groups in our club. [...] I think that solidarity among the Indonesian group is the best compared to other big groups such as the Chinese and Filipinos. Although they must be feeling tired due to many difficulties in Korea, they have practiced Taekwondo very hard. I was so impressed by their passion. (Korean Taekwondo club master)

In summary, Indonesian migrants in Korea have, thus, endeavoured to achieve certain personal aspirations that they always had and Indonesian migrants could encounter ‘other Indonesians’ through shared interest groups such as the photography club.

Through the new social connections created, Indonesian migrants have transcended their notions of regional boundaries formed during the pre-migration period. Strong bonds have appeared between Indonesian migrants with similar interests despite their different social backgrounds. For example, Indonesian migrants exchange social support without cost, cultivating trust and solidarity among each other. I asked one Indonesian in the photography club, “how much money did you obtain from your friend for the cost of your camera work?” He explained:

It’s okay. I don’t want to ask for money from them. I’m a photographer and doing this for my study not to earn money. But I like these things. When I took the photo for Anto [his friend], we

always ate lunch or dinner together after. Also, he did not forget to say 'thank you' to me. That's enough. We are living not in Indonesia but in Korea. If we have a good relationship here, we are family. Because of that, I cannot take money from them. [...] A [from Kendal], S [from Sumatra], U [from Lombok] and H [from Bima]. As you know, we meet every day. [...] This is a family right? (Kalim, 34 years old, from Sulawesi)

Furthermore, Indonesian migrants have chosen to engage in extra-curricular organisations instead of joining their *paguyuban*. The migrants begin to obtain various forms of social support from these groups that they had previously secured from their *paguyuban*. In addition, mixed relationships have enabled them to learn about Indonesians from other regions.

I never visited Sragen community gathering [a *paguyuban*]. But it's not a problem for me. Instead, I have a hobby club. [...] I'm doing Taekwondo and I like Indonesians in this club. I don't care about *paguyuban*. [...] When I visited in Ansan, I often went to my friend's house from Yogyakarta, Ciracap and Makassar to stay during weekends. I met these people in Taekwondo club. [...] Although I love my hometown, I do not focus on hanging around with homeboys. Making a relationship with only homeboys is not good since we are in Korea now. There are a lot of Indonesians here from Lombok, Sumatra and so on. This is great, isn't it? I can speak *Bahasa Padang* through making friends. Also, I can speak *Bahasa Cilacap* and *Sunda* as well [laughing]. I learn these things from my friends. It is fun. (Ahmad, 36 years old, from Sragen).

Consequently, Indonesian migrants have been increasingly able to change certain fixed perspectives that had been part of their social conditioning prior to their migration abroad.

FROM CHALLENGES TO OPPORTUNITIES

In the previous two sections I have presented Indonesian migrants as having experienced both challenges and opportunities in Korea. I argued how these experiences have led to transcendence of regional and linguistic affiliations among Indonesians and the boundaries

that demarcate their groupings. Challenges and opportunities have also, coincidentally, influenced migrants' abilities to transcend boundaries in relation to religious identities, particularly those pertaining to the changing role played by 'Indonesian Islam' among migrants in Wongok-Dong. In this section, I describe the ways in which Islam has played an important role in enhancing Indonesian nationalism in Wongok-Dong. Although there are Christians and Hindus among Indonesian migrants, the majority of them are Muslim. For this reason, Islam can provide a crucial bond among separate Indonesian groups in Wongok-Dong.

Challenges

Indonesian migrants have continuously tried to establish a *masjid* (mosque and place of Islamic worship) in Wongok-Dong, and I suggest that their efforts can be seen as a part of efforts to try to 're-create Indonesia' in Korea and, thereby, re-connect with Indonesia. Before 2007, the absence of an Indonesian *masjid* contributed to a sense of social and emotional alienation among many migrants arriving in Korea. Indonesian migrants had to use the Ansan Islamic Centre, which had been established by Bangladeshis in 2001. At that time, this was the only Islamic *masjid* in Ansan and was used by Bangladeshis, Pakistanis, Indonesians and Uzbeks. Although Indonesian migrants comprised the largest group at this Islamic centre, they spoke of their feeling of being 'outsiders'. They did not occupy the position of a 'host' and felt like guests with an uncomfortable existence as 'ethnic others'. At the Ansan Islamic Centre, Bengali is the language used by the Bangladeshi *imam* during prayers and sermons. The *masjid* is regarded among foreign migrants not only as a place of worship, but also as a place of refuge. After prayers, food is usually prepared and eaten together and the *masjid* also provides accommodation. Indonesian migrants needed to negotiate these activities with 'others' from different countries, and in doing so they often

felt that they had to occupy a passive role and had little power to decide on matters within the centre.

Researcher: A few days ago, I saw that there was some ceremony for Filipinos Muslim in *masjid*. Is that okay for you guys?

Mati: No problem. This *masjid* is not only for Indonesian but for everyone. Every *masjid* is the same.

Researcher: But why do Indonesians want to be independent from the Bangladeshi *masjid*?⁹³

Mati: We are different. [...] They eat curry and roti [bread]. The food is different. We can eat together. However, the flavours are different from ours. (Mati, 38 years old, from Jakarta)

Although Indonesian migrants faced many difficulties in sharing a mosque with foreign migrants from different countries before the establishment of their own Indonesian *masjid*, ironically, Mati insists that the new mosque was for everyone. Perhaps what he did not express was the sense of relief that came with having their own *masjid* in Wongok-Dong. In other words, beyond issues of religion, I suggest that the Indonesians wanted to have a sense of ownership of their own private space in the form of a *masjid*, and they wanted to occupy the position of 'host' within this space. This triggered fervent efforts towards finding and creating such an independent space. Indonesian migrants started to fundraise, and the result was fantastic. Many bands from each *paguyuban* performed music to raise funds and they collected about ten million won⁹⁴ from the event.

Finally, Indonesian migrants had a *masjid* of their own by December 2007. They rented the underground space of a building near a 'multicultural road' in Wongok-Dong that was frequented by many foreigners. They used this space for worship and accommodation until November 2010, but then had move due to pressures from outsiders.

⁹³ Indonesian migrants called Ansan Islam centre a Bangladeshi *masjid*.

⁹⁴ About £5,500.

Even though they had obtained a space independent from the Ansan Islam Centre, the opening of *Sirothol Mustaqim* exposed them to other challenging factors and new insecurities. Wanto explained their reasons for eventually leaving their basement rental.

We paid rent of 300,000 won per month. Koreans nagged us a lot. They said, “you consume a lot of electricity and water.” This is so bad. We paid for that. Why should they complain about that? [...] Also, they prohibited us from cooking there. (Wanto, 34 years old, from Blitar)

The *Sirothol mustaqim* was re-located near the Wongok elementary school, but this location had the disadvantage of being inaccessible to undocumented Indonesians who felt insecure in that area. The road from the centre of Wongok-Dong to the *masjid* and elementary school is well known for the presence of immigration officers and police. Previously, Indonesian migrants had been able to access the *masjids* in multicultural areas of Wongok-Dong without exposing themselves to too much risk. As such, the new location of *Sirothol Mustaqim* was not ideal.

Indonesian migrants should cross the *jutaek saguri* [intersection]. As you know, a lot of immigrant officers are present there to arrest illegal migrants. Moreover, Chinese people often fight each other there. Because of this, illegal Indonesian migrants say, “We cannot go there due to immigration officers.”

In addition to these limitations, the presence of local Koreans, perceived as ‘ethnic others’ by Indonesians, in the building also contributed to insecurity. The Indonesian Muslims rented the fourth floor of a large building frequented by many other people – the other floors were used as a Christian church (basement), supermarket (first), boxing academy (second) and small residential service (third). One day, I went to visit *Sirothol Mustaqim*. Before I entered the building, I saw an Indonesian in front of the entrance. He climbed the building steps before me. When we arrived at the second floor, he turned to look at me and he kept doing this until we reached the *masjid*. There, he was still on strict alert towards me,

but after I exchanged greetings with several Indonesians there, he began to relax again.

Over dinner, I asked about the situation that happened earlier. One Indonesian explained:

A few days ago, police came to the *masjid*. They asked about the money that we had gathered in our account. At that time, there were several undocumented Indonesians present. They were fearful because of the police. [...] The guy whom you met was also feeling the same. (Rinto, 32 years old, from Orbos)

As can be seen, *Sirothol Mustaquim* does not feel stable enough for the migrants, and they do not anticipate that the *masjid* will remain in that location. Since they have to pay rent to the owner of the building, the place is not permanent and they need to be ready to move at any time. Moreover, they are continuously exposed to the possibility of a police raid despite having their own independent space. Indonesian migrants feel that they need an isolated place for themselves, they would like to make a ‘stranger-free zone’ around themselves and continue to aspire to build their own Indonesian *masjid*.

Indonesian migrants are running their *masjids* in Korea under rental contracts. [...] They wanted to build a building for their *masjid*. So, I helped a little bit. [...] They asked me to find a relevant place in Ansan. Especially, they considered Wongok-Dong as the best place. However, land here in Wongok-Dong is so expensive. The value has gone up a lot in recent years, so they still have not been able to find a place. [...] For the past three years they have prepared for this fund. (P, Korean owner of an Indonesian restaurant)

During my stay in Ansan, fundraising for the construction of an Indonesian mosque continued. Money-collecting boxes were distributed to twelve Indonesian restaurants across Wongok-Dong. In addition, the fund-raising committee of *Sirothol Mustaquim* encouraged migrants to set up direct debit donations. In this way, many Indonesian migrants participated in the project of *Pembangunan Masjid Ansan* (building Ansan *masjid*), regardless of whether or not they would use it. One Indonesian said, “We have collected about 200

million won⁹⁵ through donations from Indonesian migrants. So far, we have planned to buy the whole building of the Pakistani *masjid* in Wongok-Dong. If we have 400 million won, we can buy that.” Indonesian migrants have endeavoured to build togetherness in order to establish and construct their *masjid* in Ansan. My key informant explained their efforts further:

In my hometown, there is a *masjid*. Other regions are the same in Indonesia. We cannot imagine that we don't have a *masjid*. This is quite natural. [...] However, we are in Korea now. Our *masjid* is not perfect. [...] *Paguyubans* in Wongok-Dong usually send money to *masjids* in their hometowns as a donation. Like this, we joined forces as Indonesians in Korea. (Anto, 35 years old, from Kendal)

Indonesian migrants have regarded the absence of familiarity, stable immigration status and safety in the host society as contributing to feelings of alienation from their home country. These feelings led to the creation of bonds among separate Indonesian migrant communities as part of their efforts to reclaim familiarity, a stable status and safety through constructing the image of the Indonesian mosque, a physical place that reminds them of ‘Indonesia’.

Opportunities

In the previous section, I have argued that Muslim Indonesian migrants have created bonds with each other due to the challenges presented by the absence of an Indonesian *masjid* and the continued threat of crackdowns. In this section, I explain how Islam can be used as a tool by so-called ‘insiders’ for achieving integration among separated Indonesian groups in Wongok-Dong. I will argue that Indonesian migrants have strengthened their sense of nationalism through religious sentiments and discourse, propagated through activities that are formulated by ‘insiders’.

⁹⁵ About £110,000.

The Indonesian embassy, as a representative of the nation, has encouraged unity among separate Indonesian groups using Islamic events. In this regard, there was a gathering for *buka puasa* (breaking fast) in the ICC office during the month of *Ramadan*. Indonesians feel more homesick during *Ramadan* since, if they were in Indonesia, they would go back to their hometowns. During the last days of *Ramadan*, Indonesian migrants in the *masjid* were watching Indonesian TV news that was broadcasting ‘*Mudik*’ using a laptop. One of the watchers explained: “They are preparing for *Idul Fitri* [the celebration that marks the end of *Ramadan*]. After *Ramadan*, most Indonesians working in the big cities usually go back to their hometown. But we cannot do this in Korea.” For Indonesians in Wongok-Dong, there were no hometowns or families to which they could return for *Idul Fitri*. Using this atmosphere, the Indonesian embassy tried to promote inter-cultural connection among Indonesian groups by stressing nationalist sentiments.

I attended one such *buka puasa* event organised by the Indonesian embassy in Wongok-Dong. For this meeting, more than ten embassy staff visited and about 130 Indonesian migrants from various *paguyuban* joined. The event started with an address by the ambassador, who had already visited other cities, such as Changwon and Daegu. He welcomed Indonesians from each *paguyuban*, explained the purpose of the gathering, and expressed appreciation for Indonesian migrants during *Ramadan*. Presentations were also given by several embassy staff, covering topics such as the Korean immigration system, the immigration of Indonesians, the impact of migrant remittances, and success and failure stories of Indonesian migrants from around the world. They described Indonesian migrants as ‘heroes’ of the country due to their contributions to the nation’s economic development. Also during the presentation, officials emphasised the responsibility of migrants to promote the image of Indonesia as an attractive country for multi-national investment, for example from Korean enterprises such as Samsung, Posco and Hyundai

Motors. Based on this, one presenter stressed the importance of nationalism for national development, as the following extract demonstrates:

We should be proud of Indonesia and recognise the spirit of our nation. [...] The success of the nation cannot be determined by the amount of resources we have. The most important factor is the ability of the human to manage resources. This can lead to the success of the nation. Indonesia has abundant natural resources but human resources are still not adequate. You are living in Korea now, aren't you? Maybe you know how a nation can become highly developed? Togetherness among Koreans is the answer. Even though they have limited natural resources, Korea has dramatically developed. [...] We should have nationalism that can enhance togetherness, mutual respect about cultural differences and opinions among Indonesians. This will make Indonesia a harmonious, synergistic and effective nation. [...] Please remember, Indonesians have to achieve unity in diversity both within and outside of the country. (Staff of the Indonesian embassy)

Although the embassy held the *buka puasa* event ostensibly to support Indonesian migrants exhausted by their time fasting, I suggest that there were perhaps deeper objectives being played out with the intention of promoting the need for 'national pride and unity' among Indonesian groups. That said, I am unsure if the impact of their presentations was positive or not due to the Indonesian migrants' negative perception of the government and embassy. Nevertheless, the efforts of the Indonesian elite to achieve a greater sense of nationalism among migrant workers have continued in Wongok-Dong, and many of these have also used Islam to further their agendas.

Another such effort was the *Tabligh Akbar* (the great sermon), a successful Islamic event that also stressed the need to enhance togetherness amongst Indonesian migrants in Wongok-Dong. You (2010: 86) describes how these sermons were held in front of Ansan Foreign Migrant Service Centre in September 2010 and the following excerpt demonstrates the power of the event as it details a ceremony to end the *Tabligh Akbar*:

In this event, numerous Indonesian migrants who were living in

Kyeonggi province participated. Moreover, an Indonesian ambassador, his family and staff of the Indonesian embassy also joined. [...] For this event, Ustadz Wijayabto [Islam religious leader] and Dik Doank [Singer] were invited. [...] Dik Doank played guitar and sang a song. Indonesian migrants sang along. Titles of these songs were Nostalgia, Maafkan Cintaku [I'm sorry my love], Ibu [Mother], Bangunlah Putra Putri Pertiwi [Stand up our nation's son and daughter] [...] Mr. Ustadz Wijayanto and Mr. Dik Doank had tears in their eyes when they recalled the memories of their family and hometown. It made the audience cry as well. At the end of the event, everyone prayed in Islamic style and recited Islamic prayers. Then they got up and sang the national anthem [Indonesia Raya or Great Indonesia] with their fists in the air.

Indonesian migrants in Korea commonly feel homesick. For this reason, Islamic religious leaders and singers appeal to their sense of the importance of family and hometown. I suggest, however, that the hidden motives of these elites were not to encourage nostalgia towards hometowns, but to deepen nostalgia towards other Indonesians living in Korea. They were able to use Islamic religious sentiments to skillfully maximise the nostalgia of their audience and further nationalist sentiments and the idea of 'national unity' among the Indonesian diaspora.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have argued that Indonesian migrants transcend their boundaries through building connections beyond ethnic, linguistic and regional ties in Wongok-Dong. Indonesian migrants have maintained differences through their shared connections to hometown localities and linguistic bonds stemming from before migration. At the same time, however, they have also broken these boundaries to cope with their new situation in Korea. In other words, Indonesian migrants have constructed new ideas of ethnicity according to the socio-economic and political context in Korea. For this reason, this

chapter has focused on the creation of togetherness and unity among separated Indonesian migrant groups. More specifically, I have examined the threats and opportunities that influence the transcendence of boundaries in Korea.

Firstly, challenges encountered by Indonesians in Korea have provided the chance to break previously maintained boundaries among migrants in Wongok-Dong. Migrants have formed a more integrated 'community' consisting of Indonesian migrants from different *paguyubans* to cope with the pressures exerted by the Korean government. Moreover, connections between Muslim Indonesians and the Indonesian Christian church were created in the process of solving Muslim-Indonesian migrant troubles. Based on these new mixed relationships, many migrants have transformed their attitudes from regional loyalties to national interests.

Secondly, Indonesian migrants have extended their networks beyond their hometowns and regions of origin through various opportunities in Korea. Many have achieved greater economic stability and enjoyed living in a well-developed foreign country and learning about Korean culture. This has enabled Indonesians to pursue activities in Korea that they might have only dreamt about in Indonesia. To share and develop these activities, Indonesian migrants have socialised and lent social support to each other with little consideration for regional origin.

Thirdly, Indonesian Islam in Korea has served as a means to not only challenge Indonesian migrants, but also as an opportunity for Indonesian elites to maximise nostalgia and nationalist sentiments. Both the challenge and the opportunity have contributed to promoting greater unity and togetherness. Indonesian migrants have felt insecure and unsettled because of the absence of their own dedicated *masjid* and the instability of successive Indonesian *masjids* rented in Wongok-Dong. Because of these threats, they have joined together as Indonesians to try and build their own *masjid* as a means to represent and

‘recreate’ an ‘Indonesia in Wongok-Dong’. In addition, Islam has been used to intensify the nationalist sentiments espoused by Indonesian elites in Korea. Religious gatherings have been transformed into events geared to promoting national unity among migrants. Consequently, Indonesian migrants have enhanced their sense of national consciousness, rather than their affiliations to their hometowns, through their attendance at Islamic events.

In this regard, I argue that Indonesian migrants have achieved boundary transcendence by coping with the situation in Korea. Although Indonesian migrants have maintained differences due to language, religion, regional origin and cultural practices, I suggest that the ongoing identity that comprises the Indonesian is derived from multilayered elements that exist within an overall framework of ‘national consciousnesses’. Indonesian migrants are engaging in processes that create this enhanced national consciousness through re-formulating their ideas of ethnicity according to the changing and insecure context of their lives as migrants in Korea. This contributes to a different perspective on the relationship between the hybridity of diaspora groups and the nation-state. Namely, although hybridity as a diaspora feature can decrease migrants’ sentiment toward to their nation-state by changing the identity they originally formed in their home country, Indonesian immigrants’ experience of hybridity in Wongok-Dong can actually strengthen their national identity.

CHAPTER 7: SOCIAL CAPITAL OF INDONESIAN MIGRANTS

BOUNDARY MAKING OF INDONESIANS AND THE ROLE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL IN WONGOK-DONG

In the previous two chapters I have insisted that Indonesian migrants maintain and transcend their boundaries in Wongok-Dong. In this chapter I suggest that, based on this, there is the chance to create ‘hidden bridging social capital’ among Indonesian immigrants in Wongok-Dong by which even those without networks outside their *panguyuban* can reap the benefits of more socially connected immigrants.

Most scholars agree that social capital influences societal outcomes (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 2000). However, Putnam (2000) suggests that there are two types of social capital: bonding and bridging capital. Bonding social capital is generated by within-group connections and is, for instance, created in ethnic enclaves where immigrants maintain their connections with people who have similar social backgrounds, for example, ethnicity, religion and/or regional origin. Bridging social capital refers to links created between different groups. In the case of immigrants, this type of social capital is formed through building social relationships between them and members of the host society. In addition to these two types of social capital, Woolcock (2001) suggests a third type of social capital – linking social capital. This refers to connections between different levels of power and social status and may include civil societies, government agencies, representatives of the public and the private sector (Grant, 2001).

These types of social capital have different implications. Putnam (2000) insists that bridging social capital is more important than bonding social capital for migrants wishing to get ahead. Because, while bonding social capital tends to reinforce in-group identity by enhancing their solidarity within the homogeneous group, immigrants' bridging social capital enables them to achieve integration through accessing external assets and gaining information in the host society. Even though bridging social capital can yield positive outcomes by enhancing immigrants' access to additional resources in the host society, it neglects the different allocation of resources among various groups due to their relative power. In this regard, linking social capital, which is produced between people with different social statuses, can provide a solution to the limitations of bridging social capital.

However, the use of all these perspectives is limited in examining the case of Indonesian immigrants in Wongok-Dong since they do not address the social cleavages within the immigrant group. Indonesian immigrants have endeavoured to maintain their life through building up both bonding and bridging social capital with people who have the same or different social backgrounds in Wongok-Dong. However, the process is different from that outlined above. On the one hand, Indonesian immigrants build bonding social capital not with Indonesians who have different social backgrounds but with *kawan sekampung* based on their affiliations to local languages and regions of Indonesia. On the other hand, Indonesian immigrants form bridging social capital not only with Koreans but also with Indonesians who have different social backgrounds. That is, there are possibilities to build bridging social capital within the Indonesian immigrant group.

Although there are chances to build bridging social capital among Indonesian immigrants who have different social backgrounds, there are limitations to yield specific resources by Indonesian themselves due to their status as a foreign migrant worker in Korea. In this regard, formulating linking social capital with Koreans plays an important

role in accessing additional resources among Indonesian immigrants. Resources produced from linking social capital can create bridges within the socially divided Indonesian immigrant group in the context of Wongok-Dong.

Having provided the background, I suggest that Indonesian migrants have the chance to formulate ‘hidden bridging social capital’ among Indonesians who have different social backgrounds through building linking social capital in Wongok-Dong. To support this central argument, I explore how Indonesian migrants obtain or chase the resources that come from the *paguyuban* and Wongok-Dong through bonding, bridging and linking social capital.

BONDING SOCIAL CAPITAL: OBTAINING RESOURCES FROM THE PAGUYUBAN

Throughout Chapter 5 I suggested that Indonesian migrants have maintained their boundaries based on their affiliations to local languages and regions of Indonesia. Although these factors have contributed to differentiating ‘us’ and ‘them’, migrants’ boundary maintenance can also be explained by the context of Indonesia’s agrarian society. Most Indonesian migrants in Wongok-Dong come from farming villages of Indonesia. In agrarian society, bonds and solidarity within the community rely on the concept of *gotong royong* (mutual aids or reciprocity).⁹⁶

Although Indonesian migrants face different circumstances after immigration to Korea, the custom of *gotong royong* still influences them. The migrants organise the *paguyuban* with their *kawan sekampung* to achieve mutual aid. In Korea, Indonesian migrants face various harsh conditions such as language barriers, difference of ‘cultural’ practices

⁹⁶ According to Geertz (1983: 211), the importance of *gotong royong* is explained as such: “An enormous inventory of highly specific and often quite intricate institutions for effecting cooperation in work, politics, and personal relationships alike, vaguely gathered under culturally charged and fairly well indefinable value-images – *rukun* (mutual adjustment), *gotong royong* (joint bearing of burdens), *tolong-menolong* (reciprocal assistance) – governs social interaction with a force as sovereign as it is subdued”.

and challenges due to their unstable status. In this regard, the *paguyuban* plays an important role in providing a safety net to cope with various risks in Korea. In this section, I will illustrate how Indonesian migrants obtain resources from their *paguyuban*. Especially, I will focus on four attested elements provided by the *paguyuban* – eliminating cultural fatigue, temporary dwelling, employment and preparing for unexpected incidents – which emerged most prominently in interviews with my participants and through participant observation.

Eliminate cultural fatigue

Asry: I cannot imagine my life in Korea without *paguyuban*.

Researcher: Is there *paguyuban* in Indonesia?

Asry: No. We do not need *paguyuban* there.

Researcher: Why did you form the *paguyuban* here?

Asry: Because we are staying in Korea. In other words, Indonesians miss their family and hometown a lot in this country.
(Asry, 45 years old, from Bima)

Indonesian migrants minimise cultural fatigue by hosting regular gatherings with their *kawan sekampung* in Wongok-Dong. Cultural fatigue is defined as “the physical and emotional exhaustion that almost invariably results from the infinite series of minute adjustments” (Szanston 1966: 48) that people make to sustain their life in a new country and cope with their new environment. In this regard, Indonesian migrants need to make great efforts to adjust themselves to the unfamiliar surroundings of Korea. In Chapter 5, I argued that several cultural practices such as language usage, food consumption and religious practices have created segregations among Indonesian groups in Wongok-Dong. The reason for this separation is to avoid the cultural fatigue experienced by Indonesians who have different social backgrounds through creating an ‘inside’ position and familiar surrounding. Similarly, Indonesians experience cultural fatigue in Korean environments as a

consequence of language barriers and differences in food consumption and cultural practices.

In particular, this cultural fatigue reaches its peak in the workplace where migrants may spend twelve hours per day. For example, Indonesian migrant workers are expected to communicate with their Korean colleagues in Korean. Therefore, Indonesian migrants who are not good at speaking and understanding Korean face significant problems. They cannot understand their Korean manager's orders and may find it difficult to assimilate to their job. In addition to this, my respondents revealed that they were treated poorly because of their limited Korean language skills. Even though they were treated unfairly, there were no ways to express their distress. As a result, the migrants felt 'powerless'. Rather than change their circumstances in the workplace, the sense of powerlessness led migrants to run away from their workplace:

When I arrived in Korea, I could not speak Korean well. I knew only two sentences that were *Annyeong Haseyo* [hello] and *Alget Seupnida* [okay]. In my first workplace, whatever words the Korean manager spoke to me, my answer was only the one. That was *Alget Seupnida*. Of course, I could not understand. Thus, he always blamed me. Although I could not understand those words; I knew that they were bad words by atmosphere. It was horrible and stressful to me. About twenty days later, I ran away from the factory. (Asry, 45 years old, from Bima)

After arriving in Korea, I was sent to a factory with three other Indonesians in Uijungbu⁹⁷. [...] At that time, we did not know Korean language. Koreans knew that we did not understand Korean and they said bad words such as *Gaesaekki* [Son of a bitch]! Korean people yell this word a lot to us. [...] Although I was so angry about this and wanted to fight them, I couldn't. (Ujang, 24 years old, from Lombok)

As time goes by Indonesian migrants develop Korean language skills and gradually adjust themselves. Nevertheless, the existing Korean culture in the workplace – *pali-pali*

⁹⁷ A city in Kyeonggi province.

(hurry-up, work faster) – makes them physically and emotionally exhausted. Most of the Korean managers working with Indonesian migrants dedicate themselves to the dramatic economic development of Korea. In the past, Koreans worked without a day off. Thus, they consider that foreign workers have relatively good working conditions and should follow their way and ‘work faster’. Many migrants have difficulty adapting themselves to the Korean work culture, which is different from Indonesian work culture.

The Korean manager used to yell *ppari-ppari* [hurry-up] in the factory. I could not work quickly. Because of that, he spoke bad words to me. Indonesians do not like this in our country. Slow is the way of Indonesia. This is wrong, isn't it? He is a Korean. I'm an Indonesian. There are culture differences. [...] Koreans also worked in Germany and Saudi Arabia as foreign workers several decades ago like us. They must have experienced same problems. Why do they do this to us? (Budi, 36 years old, from Makasar)

Another source of cultural fatigue is food consumption practices. Indonesian migrants spend most of their time in their workplace during the weekdays. In most cases, they do not have enough time to cook for themselves and usually take their daily meals at the factory restaurant. Korean food is unfamiliar to Indonesian migrants and avoiding religious taboos is important to them. Because of this, concern about foods and distrust of Koreans appeared among Muslim Indonesians.

We have to eat Korean food in the factory. Although eating these foods makes me uncomfortable, it is manageable. However, they often tricked us. One day, the cook prepared a meal. They said that it was beef but we (Indonesians) can identify when we eat the meat. In fact, pork was served. [...] It makes us upset, but we do not have choice because we are in Korea. (Asry, 45 years old, from Bima)

Asry insists that Korean people tricked him, but what he really wants to say is that he was nervous due to his uncertainty over the ingredients of Korean food. Indonesian migrants have to endure cultural fatigue stemming from consuming food in their factory regardless

of their preferences.

Indonesian migrants endure the cultural fatigue of life in Korea in order to better their economic condition and that of their families in Indonesia. For this reason, they endeavour to assimilate themselves in Korea through learning the Korean language and adapting to Korean cultural practices. In this regard, each Indonesian *paguyuban* plays a pivotal role in eliminating cultural fatigue in Korea. That is, relationships with people who have the same cultural practices can help sustain migrants' lives in Korea.

During formal and informal *paguyuban* gatherings at weekends, Indonesian migrants did not need to communicate in Korean. They talked loudly in their local language about their daily lives. The *paguyuban* gathering provides a favourable atmosphere for natural communication. In addition, members bring recognisable and 'trusted' Indonesian dishes. I attended some of these parties, which would usually run late into the evening. I observed that nobody yelled *pali-pali* there. I asked about this situation and one respondent said that "this is a *jam karet* [rubber time]" and explained that Indonesians define time as rubber. For this reason, we can forget timekeeping and relax; consequently, we had to wait one hour for all members to arrive for the meeting.

Temporary dwelling

Wongok-Dong is popular amongst immigrants for its friendly and familiar surroundings. In Wongok-Dong, they can easily find many facilities such as shops and restaurants which cater to their needs. More importantly, the immigrants feel a sense of liberation by escaping from 'Korean surroundings'. For this reason, this village provides a 'hometown atmosphere' to Indonesian migrants. Hence most Indonesian migrants want to stay in the town when they arrive in Korea. However, that is not always possible because the Ministry of Labour allocates each Indonesian migrant to a workplace. Therefore,

Indonesian migrants who work outside Ansan and want to feel a 'hometown atmosphere' visit Wongok-Dong on weekends.

During the weekend, these people usually stay in *Rumah Kontrakan* (a house contracted by *kawan sekampung*). The first *Rumah Kontrakan* that I visited was located in a basement flat and consisted of two bedrooms, one kitchen and one toilet. Although there were a lot of duvets and pillows in the rooms, I could find very few other commodities such as shoes, toothbrush and plates. I asked Joni, an inhabitant of the house, about this:

Researcher: How many people live in this house?

Joni: There are three people. But my friends come to this house on Friday night; except people who have extra work on Saturday. We can join until Saturday afternoon at the latest. Although three people live in this house, about ten *kawan sekampung* stay here during the weekend. We have dinner together and enjoy chat. (Joni, 27 years old, from Lombok)

The members of the *paguyuban*, then, use this house as a 'common hometown house'. More precisely, people from the same town in Indonesia share the economic burden of maintaining a house in Wongok-Dong. Members using the house during the weekdays or weekends pay a fixed membership fee, called *iuran*. This fee is collected to pay for various expenses such as the monthly rent, electricity, water and food for all the members of the *paguyuban* who live or visit the house. In this way, a 'hometown house' can be maintained in Wongok-Dong.

In addition to this, Indonesians who can use a *Rumah Kontrakan* as a member of the *paguyuban* are able to secure a place to live while they search for a job. After immigration, Indonesian migrants are assigned to a company in Korea. However, these workplaces are not permanent. In some cases migrants suffer from violations of human rights such as physical assault, delayed payment of wages and deterioration of working conditions that, as we saw above, force them to run away. In other cases, some migrants were unable to

continue to work at their assigned workplace due to the suspension or closure of the business, or other reasons for which the worker was not responsible. Foreign migrants who have suffered from these issues have the right to change their workplace under the EPS (Employment Permit System). According to the Korean Ministry of Labour, foreign migrants can change their workplace a maximum of three times under the terms of the EPS. In some cases, migrants would voluntarily leave their workplace, thus stepping out of the system and hence crossing the boundary into undocumented status. Once migrants leave their jobs, they also lose access to the factory dormitory and are then forced to seek out a secure place to live while they search for another job.

I met three Indonesians who have each been travelling back in *Warung* R. I asked them what was happening. One Indonesian answered, “we got away from work and came to Wongok-Dong to search for a new job”. I asked again “why did you come to Wongok-Dong?” They said, “there are a lot of job positions here. We can save the time to find the job here.” And then, they went out of the restaurant. When I found their travelling bags in the corner of the restaurant, I realised that there was no *Rumah kontrakan* for short stay available to them in Wongok-Dong⁹⁸. (Field note 5 May 2011)

This case shows that Indonesian migrants who are not members of a *paguyuban* suffer from inconvenience due to the absence of a secure place from which to search for a new job. That is, the *Rumah Kontrakan* plays an important role in providing a stable place for a short stay to members of the *paguyuban* looking for work.

Employment

I became illegal after leaving my workplace. At that time, I could find this job through my *kawan sekampung*. (Asry, 45 years old, from Bima)

⁹⁸ Indonesians who do not have a place to stay in Wongok-Dong usually go to the Indonesian *masjid* and stay until getting a new job. I also saw a lot of job seekers’ travelling bags there.

Undocumented Indonesian migrants overcome their unstable employment status through their social networks in Korea. Aside from overstaying their permits, Indonesians became undocumented migrants for several reasons. The first one is changing workplace out of their allocated type of business. According to the Korean Labour Ministry, businesses are divided into four industries: primary, manufacturing, fishing and construction. Changing workplace is permitted within an industry but not across industries. Hence, when foreign migrants move to another industry they break the terms of their work permit. The second one is when business owners deny a foreign migrant worker's request to change their workplace. In the previous section, I explained the conditions under which the EPS allows foreign migrant workers to change their workplace. Nevertheless, approval of foreign migrants' requests depends on the business owner. The third one is loneliness in the workplace which causes Indonesian migrants to run away and, consequently, become undocumented migrants.

When I arrived in Korea for the first time, I worked in the fishery industry about one year in Jeju. This is the fastest way to emigrate to Korea. I would like to work in a factory. But I should wait long time to do that. [...] At that time, I worked twenty hours per day and got about 800,000 won⁹⁹ per month. Moreover, I had many problems with Korean and Chinese. Koreans always cursed at me when I worked on the ship. For example, Koreans treated me as a person working under the Chinese. For this reason, the Chinese pretended to me that they were like the Koreans. It was very hard to endure. So, I escaped from Jeju and went to a factory in Osan through the assistance of my friend. I became an undocumented worker. (Agil, 33 years old, from Bandung)

Many Indonesian workers want to work with their friends in the same company. However, we cannot do that under the EPS. So, several Indonesians voluntarily leave their factories and go to other factories to work with their friends. It makes them undocumented migrants. [...] I feel lonely in the factory. I don't have friends there.

⁹⁹ About £400.

I always talk with press machine and sing a song for twelve hours.
(Anto, 35 years old, from Kendal)

Migrants invest a lot of money, contributed by their family and friends, to chase the 'Korean dream' and enter Korea as a TKI (*Tenaga Kerja Indonesia*: an Indonesian labour migrant). Thus, most migrants endeavour to pay back their debt during the first two years after migrating to Korea. Becoming 'undocumented' in the early years of their life in Korea can be disastrous for them due to the loss of a stable income. Furthermore, it leaves them in an extremely vulnerable position during government crackdowns on undocumented migrant workers. More importantly, formal routes for searching for jobs are not available to the undocumented migrant workers¹⁰⁰ and using social networks becomes the only way to find work.

After escaping from Jeju, I went to Osan and worked in the factory. [...] I called my friend and said that working in Jeju is very tough. [...] Before emigrating to Korea, in 2007, I studied Korean language in Indonesia. At that time, I met a *kawan sekampung*. Now, he is working in Osan. So, I could work as a factory worker with his assistance. However, immigration officers came to our factory for inspection. I ran away from the factory again. After that, I heard that there are a lot of people from Bandung in Ansan from my *kawan sekampung*. Because of this, I wanted to come to Ansan. At that very moment, one of my friends got me a job in an Indonesian restaurant. I thought that working in a restaurant is safer than factory. (Agil, 33 year old, from Bandung)

After running away from workplace, I could not find a job for two months. I did not have money to buy cigarettes and food. At that time, my brother helped me a lot. Before 2003, there were many crackdowns. For this reason, it cost undocumented migrants a great deal of trouble. I had to move around the whole country to avoid crackdown. So, I could work in Busan, Daegu and Gwangju. Whenever I decided to move, I called *kawan sekampung*. If they could not find a relevant position for me, they introduced other friends. In this way, I could find a job and finally work in Ansan. (Asry, 45 year old, from Bima)

¹⁰⁰ Only documented foreign migrants can obtain jobs through formal routes in Korea.

Therefore, social networks with members of the *paguyuban* are crucial to undocumented Indonesian migrants looking for informal routes to employment in Korea and contribute to maintaining their livelihoods and achieving the 'Korean dream'.

Preparing for unexpected incidents

In addition to obtaining job opportunities, Indonesians can prepare for unexpected incidents in Korea by fundraising within their respective *paguyuban*. Indonesian migrants are often exposed to unexpected situations in Korea. For example, undocumented Indonesian migrants often face difficulties when immigration officers suddenly arrest them. After this, they are transferred directly to immigration detention centres and finally deported back to Indonesia. If deported, the migrants incur a fine levied by the Korean government¹⁰¹ and are also expected to purchase their own ticket back to Indonesia.

When I was a chairman of Kendal community, I did something for my friend who was illegal. He did not have a job at that time and always focused on the activities of his music band. One day, he was arrested by immigration officers in front of *Warung K* and called me directly. I sent a message about this to Kendal people in Korea and prepared flight tickets for him. (Anto, 35 years old, from Kendal)

Through these experiences, Indonesian migrants realised that the issues that appeared among undocumented *paguyuban* members were also of concern to documented members since they might easily become undocumented and since they felt a responsibility to support all *paguyuban* members, regardless of their legal status. Hence, each Indonesian migrant *paguyuban* started to fundraise as a strategy to cope with the unstable status of undocumented members. Among migrants, this type of fundraising is called *sumbangan*. Members of *paguyuban* donate as much money as they can for their members, usually at

¹⁰¹ According to the Immigration Control Act, if a foreign worker remains in Korea after their lawful stay is over, they are subject to penal servitude or imprisonment not to exceed 3 years, or a fine not to exceed 20 million won. Source: Korean Ministry of Labour (2009)

their formal *paguyuban* gathering. I observed *sumbangan* many times when I visited different *paguyuban* gatherings during fieldwork periods. Fundraising was always accomplished before the meeting ended. When I visited the Galok community gathering, I noticed a large collection box that was circulated around the room. One Indonesian migrant explained to me, “this money will be used for the Galok people who are suffering from undocumented conditions.”

BRIDGING SOCIAL CAPITAL: CHASING THE RESOURCES OF WONGOK-DONG

In the previous section, I argued that Indonesian migrants as members of *paguyuban* can obtain various resources to cope with harsh surroundings in Korea as bonding social capital. However, there are other resources available in Wongok-Dong. Indonesian migrants can create social outcomes with people beyond the *paguyuban* in Wongok-Dong. These assets are produced from their relationships with both Indonesians and Koreans as bridging social capital. Throughout Chapter 6, I suggested that the challenges and opportunities experienced by Indonesian migrants yielded boundary transcendence. In other words, the socio-economic and political contexts in Korea have helped reformulate their ideas of ethnicity. As a result of this, they have socialised and lent social support to each other beyond their locality. In this regard, various resources have been created among Indonesian migrants who transcend their boundaries. These resources are not significantly different from the social outcomes produced in the *paguyuban*. Indonesian migrants access the benefits, such as securing a temporary dwelling in Wongok-Dong, developing their human capital and gaining employment to list a few, through building bridging social capital with Indonesians. Although this has contributed towards the maintenance of their life, social outcomes from relationships with these people are limited due to their status as foreigners in Korea. Namely, Indonesian immigrants need to obtain networks beyond

Indonesians to access distinct resources. In this regard, building relationships with Koreans can prove useful to Indonesian migrants. Moreover, Koreans need Indonesian migrants to achieve their goals in Wongok-Dong. That is, Koreans and Indonesians become resources to each other in Wongok-Dong. Hence, there are opportunities to formulate linking social capital between the two groups. In this regard, I will examine how both Koreans and Indonesians chase resources in Wongok-Dong.

Indonesian migrants as resources to Koreans¹⁰²

Koreans regard Indonesian migrants in Wongok-Dong as resources for economic, governmental and political reasons. In Chapter 2, I related that Wongok-Dong experienced a continual increase in foreign migrants from the 1990s. As the number of foreigners grew, Wongok-Dong's social, cultural, political and economic milieu adapted to the needs and desires of the immigrants. In consequence, there have been a lot of movements by a variety of Korean groups to cope effectively with the changing face of Wongok-Dong. These movements have focused on foreign migrants instead of Koreans in Wongok-Dong. Thus, Indonesians, as one of the biggest foreign migrant groups in Wongok-Dong, should be considered as the primary factor shaping the shifting attitudes of different Korean actors such as merchants, government officers and politicians.

Rath and Eurofound (2011) suggest that, “ethnic entrepreneurs can be instrumental in giving certain sectors a new lease of life [...] because of their specific skills, knowledge or social capital”. In this perspective, for Korean merchants, there are two important things –having a network of Indonesian contacts and knowledge of the Indonesian language – essential for maintaining their business after the influx of foreign migrants to Wongok-

¹⁰² Although foreign migrants can be resources to Koreans in Wongok-Dong, I will focus on the relationship between Koreans and Indonesians in this section.

Dong. Korean business owners, in their drive to maximise economic profits, were faced with obstacles arising from the differences between Korean and Indonesian cultures. For example, Korean merchants did not know how to attract Indonesian customers and language barriers made communication between the two groups difficult. However, over time, the Korean business owners learned more about the Indonesian migrants' daily lives and accordingly adapted their businesses to meet the needs and wants of their desired Indonesian customers.

I opened an Indonesian restaurant in 2006. At that time, I focused on distributing flyers to foreigners to promote the restaurant at the Ansan station. In spite of this, there were no customers at my restaurant. It was useless. At that time, I could not recognise who is Indonesian or not. [Laughing] [...] In the early periods of Indonesian restaurant business, customers of my restaurants were the friends of my Indonesian employees. Yes! They brought their *kawan sekampung*. So, I realised the importance of the Indonesian network for the business. One day, one Indonesian who injured his fingers visited my restaurant. Even though I could not speak Indonesian at that time, I heard the story of the incident through my employees. That is, he was thrown out of the factory due to injury. As time goes by, I met a lot of Indonesians who suffered from harsh conditions such as wage delay and industrial accidents. So, I decided to help these people. After that, my behaviour was spread out among Indonesians and my restaurants were full of Indonesians. (P, Indonesian restaurant Korean owner)

In 2004 and 2005, there were no Indonesian part-timers in mobile phone shops. One day, I visited one of the mobile shops in Ansan to buy my friend's mobile phone. My friends could not speak Korean. So, I was there for interpretation. After that, I visited many times that mobile phone shop to help my friends. One day, *Sajangnim* [mobile shop owner] asked, "Herman, why don't you work here as a part-time job?" So, I accepted that position and started work during the weekend. Because I have a lot of Indonesian friends, *Sajangnim* liked me very much. Nowadays, every mobile phone shop employs Indonesian staff. (Herman, 32 years old, from Bima)

The social bonds of Indonesian immigrants play an important role in maintaining and

enhancing the success of Korean-owned businesses.¹⁰³ As a result, Indonesian immigrants can be a resource to Korean merchants in Wongok-Dong.

The Indonesian social networks that help maintain Korean businesses in Wongok-Dong are also useful to Korean government officers and politicians. For example, Indonesians' networks and their human capital have helped the government officers in the Ansan Foreign Migrant Community Service Centre (AFMCSC) to carry out their duties. Ansan City has always maintained a friendly stance toward foreign migrants creating, for example, in 2005, the Migrant Support Centre, the first of its kind established in Korea. After that the 'Human Rights Ordinance for Foreigners' was established in 2009. In addition, the Korean Ministry of Knowledge Economy designated Wongok-Dong as a 'multicultural special area' in 2009. Based on this, the Korean government in Ansan has endeavoured to develop an image of Ansan as Korea's number one multicultural city. The AFMCSC's website states:

We support the building of multicultural community and promote the better understanding of a multicultural society. Various events such as multicultural festivals, cultural events by each country, migrant worker festivals, and education on how to understand multi-cultures serve as the place where local citizens and foreign residents meet together and share their experiences. (Source: AFMCSC)

Hence, foreign migrants are assets in these activities since the AFMCSC needs to present something for enhancing 'cultural interchange' between people from different social backgrounds in Wongok-Dong. In this regard, foreign migrant's human capital has been regarded as one of the key reasons to hold multicultural festivals such as 'Together Day' and *Oegukin Eoulrim Hanmadang* (Foreign Worker's Together Festival). To support these big

¹⁰³ Several studies on ethnic entrepreneurship highlight that the social-cultural bonds within ethnic communities provide a potential comparative advantage for ethnic firms (Donthu and Cherian, 1994; Dyer and Ross, 2000). Thus, ethnic culture seems to create relationship between natives and migrants.

festivals, various events such as foreign migrant song competitions, traditional performances from each country and world food experiences are performed. For this reason, government officers working at the AFMCSC need foreign migrants with the ability to organise and participate in these events. One of my informants shared his experience of these festivals.

Wanto: When the AFMCSC held festivals, I did something for them.

Researcher: What did you do for them?

Wanto: I did Indonesian traditional makeup for preparing various festivals. I have more. Erm... I danced Indonesian traditional dance.

Researcher: Do you know how to do it?

Wanto: When I was in Indonesia, I worked as a makeup artist in Indonesia. (Wanto, 37 years old, from Jember)

‘Town Cleaning Day’ is one of the collective activities in Wongok-Dong (see figure 8) and is important because it promotes a stronger relationship amongst residents from different social backgrounds.¹⁰⁴ After they arrived in Wongok-Dong, foreign migrants who did not know the rules of waste management threw out their garbage without any consideration. This caused conflict between foreign migrants and Koreans. ‘Town Cleaning Day’ was started to overcome these conflicts through encouraging the participation of both Korean and foreign residents. The activity contributed to building social relationships amongst participants and foreign migrants learned about the rules of garbage collection. More importantly, presenting the image of foreign migrants’ helping to clean up the town minimises Koreans’ misunderstanding of them in Wongok-Dong. For this reason, the

¹⁰⁴ In a similar vein, Collins (2010) illustrates Korean students’ voluntary town cleaning activity in Auckland which aims to minimise natives’ stereotypes of ‘Asians’. Although this voluntary activity helps to change natives’ stereotypes, Collins insists that an important result of this activity was the intercultural connections created among participants with different national backgrounds (Korean, Japanese, Chinese, European and New Zealander).

mobilisation of foreign migrants to the campaign was most important for the Korean organisers. Foreign migrants who were directly or indirectly associated with the Korean organisers would identify potential participants. In other words, foreign migrant groups have the possibility to exchange social support with Korean organisers.

I participated in the activity of 'Town Cleaning Day'. This was held by Ansan foreign migrant community centre. [...] I met Indonesians in the building of the centre. They hold a banner which contains one sentence: "let's sweep the floor of our house." [...] When all participants gathered in front of the building, I found particular groups that were Koreans from the centre, Taekwondo class, AKTIS and the ICC. [...] Cleaning the town started with the sound of gongs. Many Koreans who heard this sound got out of their places. Then, many of them said, "you're doing pretty well" to foreign workers who were cleaning. [...] Although I met three Vietnamese and one Chinese during the activity, most of participants were Indonesians. They were dressed in t-shirts from Taekwondo and AKTIS. (Field note 4 September 2011)

Figure 8. Town Cleaning Day¹⁰⁵



The t-shirts worn by Indonesian participants indicate that the Korean organisers obtain

¹⁰⁵ Source: My own

assistance from particular Indonesian immigrant groups such as the ICC, AKTIS and hobby clubs in conducting governmental activities in Wongok-Dong. Thus, Korean government officers need the Indonesian immigrant group to conduct their duties in Wongok-Dong.

Immigrants' specific features are also crucial to Korean politicians' purposes in Wongok-Dong. A new working class emerged in Korea following the influx of foreign migrant workers. As I described in the previous chapter, the members of this new working class suffered from harsh conditions in their workplace. Therefore, politicians started to endeavour to protect foreign migrant's labour rights. To achieve this, it was important that labour movements were seen to be grassroots movements led by foreign migrants. It was essential to attract foreign participants from different countries to labour movements and achieve solidarity among them during demonstrations. For this reason, the demonstrations needed a medium to bridge the gap between foreign migrants and Korean traditional labour protest rituals. The musical band comprised of foreign migrant workers became one of the solutions. Foreign migrant bands have an identity as 'foreign workers'. Thus, foreign participants in demonstrations felt a sense of kinship with the bands. Based on the shared atmosphere between performers and participants, musical performance became a useful tool for transplanting the way of Korean demonstration to foreign migrants.

In 2003, I used to sing a song in front of Ansan station. At that time, I met one executive of *Minju-nochong*¹⁰⁶ [Korean Confederation of Trade Unions]. He proposed me to establish a band. [...] We went here and there for demonstrations. In the early years of our activities, we even did not have a name for the band. He came up with a name for our band – 'Workers Band.' [...] He requested us to sing a song like this, "We must fight together. Solidarity is our arm. Achieve labour rights and working visa.

¹⁰⁶ This organisation is the largest confederation of trade unions in Korea. It was established in 1995 and aimed to protect workers' rights. Its main activities are wage claims, improvement of the minimum wage system, cutting working hours.

Labour victory forever”.¹⁰⁷ Although I don’t know what it means, I sang a song. When I shout the words “stop crackdown” in front of Ansan station, all foreign migrants repeat it “stop crackdown”. It was fun. (Zhunk, 35 year old, from Cierbon)

The foreign migrant band, thus, played an important role in attracting foreign immigrant workers to demonstrations and drawing them into the Korean culture of demonstration. In using migrant bands in this way, Korean politicians use foreign migrants as a tool for achieving their political purposes in Wongok-Dong. In summary, Indonesian immigrants, who have specific skills and social networks, can be resources to achieve Koreans’ economic, governmental and political purposes in the town.

Indonesian migrants’ gaze towards Koreans

I visited *Warung* ‘K’ with Anto. When we were waiting for the food, three Indonesians approached us. They politely introduced themselves to Anto. I was wondering about this. That was the first time they saw of each other. Anto said “because of you. They think that I have a Korean friend. Therefore, they called me ‘boss’. Did you hear that?” (Field note 8 July 2011)

Indonesian migrants have suffered in their relationships with Koreans in Wongok-Dong. They are normally considered as poor people from poverty-stricken countries by Koreans. However, there is a hidden discourse in Koreans’ attitude. That is, Koreans regard foreign migrants as coming from an ‘inferior race’ compared to themselves who are defined as the ‘superior us’ (Park, 2008: 138). This racist attitude has created ‘ignorance’ and ‘discrimination’ toward Indonesians who nevertheless still have a positive view of Korea, having chosen it as the destination in which they can fulfil their dreams for economic advancement.

I don’t have Korean friends. I think that Koreans are afraid of us.

¹⁰⁷ This song is ‘Paupga’ (Song of Strike) which is one of the most famous songs for demonstrations in Korea.

Although there are empty seats beside me, they are looking for other seats at the different side [with a bitter smile]. (Mati 42 years old, from Jakarta)

Although working in the factory is tough, I love Korea so much. [...] I would like to make Korean friends. That's why I'm studying Korean in Wangshipri Korean language school. I really want to have a Korean girlfriend. However, I know that they hate us since we don't have money and are different from them. (Wendi, 30 years old, from Bandung)

Although Indonesian migrants have chances to build social connections with Koreans in the workplace, the closeness of these relationships is limited. In the workplace, their racist attitudes mean that Koreans consider their foreign migrant colleagues as inferior. In this context, Koreans justify 'discrimination' against and 'bad treatment' of Indonesians due to the appearance, weak grasp of the Korean language and unskilled working technique of the migrants.¹⁰⁸ Two Indonesian migrant workers explain their experiences as such:

Although there are Korean colleagues in the factory, they are just acquaintances not friends. [...] Koreans are the people who order us. Then, we should follow their orders. This is not a problem to me. [...] If I made mistake, they abuse me. They said that "Do it properly *Saekkeiya* [Son of bitch]". When I heard these words, I felt sad. [...] As you know, I'm an Indonesian. Sometimes, I cannot understand Korean language in the factory. This is my first time to work at the factory. That's why, I made mistake. (Mati from Jakarta)

Sajangnim [Korean boss] did not give us salary. This occurred only to foreign migrants. We are factory workers aren't we? We do the same work. Sometimes, we worked a lot compared to Koreans. This is unfair. (Saiful, 31 years old, from Berbes)

Through these negative experiences, Indonesian migrants realise that they are treated as 'negligible' people by Korean colleagues who regard them as members of an 'inferior race'.

¹⁰⁸ For more information about social exclusion and racism toward foreign migrant workers in Korea, see Yoo (2002), Lee (2005), Han (2003), and Seol (2009).

To regain their self-respect, Indonesian migrants endeavour to keep their Korean colleagues at a distance and criticise them for their low levels of education.¹⁰⁹

Korean university students never do this [they do not treat us badly]. They studied a lot. However, many Koreans in the factory, they are ignorant. Maybe, they just graduated from *Junghakgyo* [middle school]? Yes! They could not get enough education. (Budi 38 years old, from Makasar)

Although Indonesian migrants have suffered in their relationships with Koreans, for various reasons, they still expect to make Korean networks¹¹⁰. Indonesian migrants do not cope effectively with various troubles due to their position as foreign migrants. For this reason, they expect Koreans who are not like their colleagues in the workplace to provide various outcomes to help them sustain their lives in Wongok-Dong:

Koreans have a lot of information. We are foreigners in Korea. Thus, many things are unfamiliar. I feel very nervous. [...] We cannot speak Korean well. So, if we faced problems, it will be very difficult to manage. I think that Koreans can help me to solve these problems. (Sila, 33 years old, from Sumatra)

In Korea, moreover, they hope to develop their abilities by making Korean networks.

Because I'm in Korea now, I would like to learn Korean language. There are Koreans in the factory. However, we do not talk a lot. We speak several words to each other. That's it. [...] If I speak Korean well, I can have a job as a Korean language teacher after returning to Indonesia. (Ujang, 24 years old, from Lombok)

Indonesian migrants have presented several answers as to why they want to make Korean friends in Wongok-Dong. However, their answers are not enough to explain the necessity for Korean friends, since there are many ways for Indonesians to manage their problems or achieve their goals in Wongok-Dong. For example, Indonesian migrants have

¹⁰⁹ Similarly, Lee (2005) insists that foreign migrants often stress Koreans poor English language skills to recover their self-respect in Korea.

¹¹⁰ Even though Indonesian immigrants want to use the profits that come from Koreans, it is not true that all of Indonesians endeavour to make Korean networks. While some Indonesians actively try to build connections with Koreans, others have a passive attitude towards socialising with Koreans due to personal experiences, Korean language skill and so on.

obtained help through their communities and Korean civil societies when faced with trouble in Wongok-Dong. And, in terms of learning the Korean language, there are a lot of free Korean language schools for foreigners.

For this reason, I pondered the question, “what do Indonesians really want from their relationships with Koreans?” I found the answer by reflecting on my relationship with my informants and participants. Indonesians who have Korean networks can develop their Korean language skills and solve various problems in order to sustain their lives in Korea. These ‘visible benefits’ of having a Korean network are important to migrants. However, I also realised they expect ‘invisible benefits’ from having Korean friends that arise from the difficulties of building those relationships.

Tonight, I was in *Warung* ‘H’. I met Asry who is one of the executives of the ICC there. Immediately after seeing me, he called me loudly. ‘Hey Doctor Park!’ and started talking about schedules of the ICC during the weekend. The *warung* was full of Indonesian migrants from Lombok and everyone looked at us. (Field note 16 July 2011)

I had met Asry in April, about three months before this meeting. He already knew what I would do at that restaurant in July. In other words, he grasped my behaviour patterns as a researcher (e.g. giving a name card for starting research). At that time, he called out a friendly greeting and gave me information about the ICC schedule for the weekend. However, what he really wanted to do was to display his friendship with a person who is a doctoral candidate in the United Kingdom to the strangers in the restaurant. That is, Indonesian migrants use Korean networks for lifting their status within the Indonesian group.

Competitions to obtain ‘Indonesia’

Although Lombok community was founded earlier than the ICC,

Koreans know only the ICC. Korean people cannot hold festivals without the ICC. This organisation manages *paguyubans* for various purposes. (Ujang, 24 years old, from Lombok)

In the previous sections, we saw how both Koreans and Indonesian migrants derive benefits from their relationship to the other; Indonesian migrants can be useful resources to Koreans in Wongok-Dong while Indonesian migrants can elevate their status by showing off their Korean networks. However, Koreans consider Indonesian networks and human capital as the most important factors for achieving their goals. For this reason, they need an Indonesian group that can gather its members together. In this context, the ICC (Indonesian Community in Korea), which represents and manages many *paguyubans*, meets the requirements of the Koreans.¹¹¹ The ICC can mobilise Indonesian migrants from every region and easily secure Indonesians with various talents from each *paguyuban*. By satisfying Koreans' requirements in this way, the ICC has monopolised resources from Korean networks. In this context, securing *paguyubans* has enhanced the 'power' of the ICC. ICC members have easier access to Koreans in Wongok-Dong and they prioritise obtaining information to maintain their lives.

In the afternoon, I went to *Warung* 'P' with several ICC members. At the *warung*, one Korean was waiting for ICC members. He introduced himself as a certified labour attorney. During the meeting, he explained solutions to Indonesian migrants who faced troubles such as wage delay, violence, illness and so on. After the meeting, I asked the chairman of ICC. "Why do you have a meeting with him?" He answered, "he wanted to meet us to give us information. It is good for us since we can obtain information to solve Indonesian migrants' problems." (Field note 22 May 2011)

Furthermore, the activities of the ICC for Indonesian migrants in Wongok-Dong have enhanced its reputation as a representative community for Indonesians, enabling it to

¹¹¹ Indonesian migrants' abilities such as bi-lingua skill and presentation of Indonesian 'cultural' factors (dancing, singing, food and so on) can be used for various objects by Koreans in Wongok-Dong.

make connections with other people outside Wongok-Dong. Therefore, differentiation between ICC members and Indonesians becomes more pronounced. The Indonesian embassy in Korea officially communicates with the ICC in order to manage Indonesian migrants' issues in Korea. ICC members often visit the Indonesian embassy to discuss their activities. Moreover, the Indonesian ambassador visited Wongok-Dong to provide encouragement for the Indonesian migrant workers living there. In this case, ICC members played an important role in organising the events thereby displaying their special status to Indonesian migrants in Wongok-Dong. I observed this specialness at one of the ICC gatherings.

The Indonesian ambassador and many staff visited the ICC office to support Indonesian migrants during *Ramadan*. While Indonesian migrants who participated in the gathering were wearing ordinary clothes, the staff members of the Indonesian embassy and the ICC wore Batik [Indonesian traditional clothing]. Most Indonesian migrants sat together in the centre of the hall. On the other hand, ICC members sat around the staff members of the Indonesian embassy. Moreover, there were differences in the food prepared for ICC members and Indonesians. ICC members and staff from the Indonesian embassy had *Gurami* [Indonesian fish food] but *Nasi campur* [mixed rice] was served to the Indonesians. (Field note 28 August 2011)

Although the ICC maintained its powerful status in Wongok-Dong through obtaining various resources from Koreans, it faced obstacles. In early 2011, there was a performance by Slank, an Indonesian rock band in Korea. The ICC was involved in initiating the concert, however, it turned out to be a failure. One of the ICC members explained:

The ICC has a debt of 38,000,000 won¹¹² due to the Slank concert. At the beginning, one Indonesian businessman proposed the event. He needed Korean agents to rent the concert venue, sound equipment and so on. However, he did not have enough money to cover it. For this reason, Koreans could not trust us. They insisted

¹¹² It is about £20,000.

that success of this concert was not guaranteed. Thus, we stood guarantor for this. But the concert could not attract audiences. [...] Because of this, our friends [Indonesians in each *paguyuban*] cannot trust each other. (Asry, 45 years old, from Bima)

The ICC used to hold integrated meetings. In these gatherings, leaders of all *paguyubans* joined to discuss various issues for Indonesians, holding festivals etc. Thus, I wanted to participate in this gathering during my fieldwork periods. However, my informant said, “we do not have plans to hold an integrated gathering due to our negative image [because of the Slank issue]. Because of *paguyubans*, we have hard time”. I could feel this atmosphere during my research. Several Indonesians explained their perspective on the ICC as follows:

Several years ago, the ICC was so powerful. However, it's not now.
(‘P’ Indonesian *warung*, Korean owner)

The ICC has changed a lot. In former days, ‘H’ was a leader of the ICC. At that time, it was great but not now. (Yati, 38 years old, from Cierbon)

In this context, a new integrated Indonesian community – AKTIS (Asosiasi Tenaga Kerja Indonesia Sejahtera: Prosperous Labour Association of Indonesian workers) – was founded in July 2011. The purpose and objectives of AKTIS can be summarised as such: “Enhancing solidarity among different Indonesian groups in South Korea and empowering Indonesians to develop potential abilities for their welfare.” However, the purpose of AKTIS is not different from that of the ICC¹¹³ and members of AKTIS needed to justify its creation. Incompetence and corruption in the ICC provided useful reasons:

The Slank concert failed. I insisted that 40,000 won was enough for the entrance fee. But members of the ICC decided 50,000 won. They ignored my opinion. Although ‘H’ [former president of the ICC] is older than me, he always respected my opinions. [...]

¹¹³ The ICC has been also tried to tighten bonds between Indonesian migrants who have different social backgrounds and endeavoured to develop Indonesian migrants’ welfare in Korea. (See Chapter 6).

When the ICC held the ICC cup, ‘J’ [former leader of the ICC] got 4,000,000 won from the IBK [Industrial Bank of Korea]. Even though people don’t know this, I know. *Sajangnim* [Korean boss in the IBK] told me. So, I asked to ‘J’ that ‘where is that money?’ He did not say anything. (Djais, 36 years old, from Lombok)

In addition, Djais stated that the Indonesian embassy viewed the activities of the ICC negatively and stressed its loss of justification. Although the Indonesian embassy should care about undocumented Indonesian migrants in Korea, it also has to minimise the percentage of Indonesian immigrants overstaying in Korea for the benefit of the whole nation.¹¹⁴ For this reason, staff at the Indonesian embassy recommended that Indonesian migrants return to Indonesia before their visa expires. Because there are a lot of Indonesians waiting to migrate to Korea, the Indonesian embassy stressed the importance of the timely return of migrants to Indonesia in an effort to seamlessly continue the flow of people between Indonesia and Korea. Moreover, the embassy prohibited extreme activities such as demonstrations. Under the policy of the Indonesian embassy, therefore, AKTIS could justify the appropriateness of its advent:

The Indonesian embassy hates the ICC because of their demonstrations. ICC members joined a lot of demonstrations. Why did they do that? Our Indonesians came to Korea for work. [...] They are illegal. There are many illegal Indonesians in the ICC. We should make money and return to Indonesia. (Djais, 36 year old, from Lombok)

On the basis of presenting its justification, AKTIS has encroached on the territory of the ICC. Before the presence of AKTIS, the ICC had monopolised various events in Ansan as a representative Indonesian community. It participated in multicultural festivals held by the AFMCSC and Korean civil societies. In addition, it used to support big events

¹¹⁴ The foreign migrant quota system is in operation in Korea. According to this system, the number of foreign migrants who can emigrate to Korea is determined by the percentage of overstay of each country. For this reason, the Indonesian embassy has to endeavour to minimise overstaying in order to maximise the quota of Indonesian migrants in Korea.

such as concerts by Indonesian famous singers for Indonesian migrants. However, the ICC has not dominated these activities since the advent of AKTIS in Wongok-Dong. The leader of AKTIS told Koreans in the AFMCSC of their existence and said that AKTIS would participate in the festivals held by the AFMCSC. Competition between AKTIS and the ICC was unavoidable. I often observed the presence of the two organisations at the same festivals.

Multicultural food festival held in front of Ansan foreign migrant community service centre. However, there are no Indonesians from the ICC in the Indonesian booth. The people who were serving foods were wearing AKTIS T-shirts. After lunchtime, the town cleaning day event started. I met members of the ICC and AKTIS there. They did not talk each other during the cleaning. (Field note 4 September 2010)

Although the *Thank You Concert* (see figure 9)¹¹⁵ was held in Wadong stadium, I could not access the concert hall since entrance was only allowed to Indonesian migrants. For this reason, I observed the atmosphere outside the concert hall. [...] To prepare for unexpected incidents, the police was positioned around the stadium. Many speakers were installed outside of the stadium for people who could not access the concert hall. Indonesians on the outside of the stadium could enjoy the music as well. [...] In front of the main gate of the stadium, a lot of barricades were installed. Beyond this, were the Indonesian ambassador, several Korean politicians, Indonesian singers and members of the ICC and AKTIS. Audiences waved their hands at the Indonesian singers and took pictures. Members of the ICC and AKTIS who were wearing black formal suit escorted the Indonesian celebrities. (Field note 24 July 2011)

¹¹⁵ In this concert, six Indonesian and six Korean singers and band performed their music to bring cheer to Indonesian migrants in Korea.

Figure 9. Poster for the Thank You Concert¹¹⁶

The cause of this competition between the two organisations was the desire to occupy the paguyuban under their control by showing their powerful status in Wongok-Dong, as two of my informants explained:

Frankly speaking, we invited members of the ICC to our meetings. They came to our gathering just one time and never appeared again. They are uncomfortable due to the presence of AKTIS. Although many *paguyubans* have been monopolised under the control of the ICC, these *paguyubans* are also working with AKTIS now. For this reason, members of Putra Tunggal¹¹⁷ never came to our gathering because of 'K' [former chairman of the ICC]. (Djais, 36 years old, from Lombok)

If there are festivals, each *paguyuban* will decide which is better between the ICC and AKTIS. (Asry 45 years old, from Bima)

Competition between the two groups was seen as an effort to acquire Korean networks through securing *paguyubans*; the ultimate objective of each group was not only to

¹¹⁶ Source: one anonymous Indonesian Facebook

¹¹⁷ This is a *paguyuban* of East Java. The former chairman of the ICC was a member of this *paguyuban*

incorporate *paguyubans* into one Indonesian group to achieve integration but also to extend their networks beyond relationships in Korea through using various resources from Koreans. I support this argument by presenting some experiences of the ICC. For example, the ICC has developed positive social relationships amongst Indonesians who have different social backgrounds by holding festivals supported by Koreans.

Especially, we used to obtain financial support from Korean banks to hold Indonesian festivals such as the ICC cup¹¹⁸ and performances of Indonesian musical bands. In these events, all *paguyubans* gathered around in one place. [...] As you know, we cannot hold these events without money. So, we ask Koreans to help. In return, we display the logo and advertisements of the Korean banks during the events. (Kariyadi, 37 years old, from Tulungagung)

Even though there are positive results in terms of creating bonds between Indonesians through these events, members of the ICC can also demonstrate their power to Indonesians by stressing their successful hosting of these events with Koreans. This power is demonstrated through the resources – of information and opportunities – gained by relationships with outsiders (Koreans, the Indonesian embassy, etc). These resources, in turn, are re-distributed as a way of attracting *paguyubans* in Wongok-Dong to the ICC.

Tomorrow, we have a meeting with people from the Indonesian embassy. As you know, we always prepare food when we hold events. Food for tomorrow will be prepared by Helena who is from Lombok. Usually, we get food for these events from one of the Indonesian restaurants. In this case, we pay our money [membership fee] for the food but we can have the food at a discount. The event of tomorrow is held by the Indonesian embassy. For this reason, we don't care about discount. So, I gave this task to my friend [Helena] to help. (Asry, 45 years old, from Bima)

Based on their powerful position, ICC members have actively used their status in

¹¹⁸ This is a football competition among Indonesian *paguyubans*.

Korea to widely extend their networks. Before immigration to Korea, their positions were not special. Most of them grew up in the countryside in Indonesia. In addition, their education level is not high enough to obtain a job that would elevate their social status in Indonesia. However, status as an executive of the ICC gives them access to varied opportunities in Korea. One member of the ICC, who was working in department of culture and as a vocalist in a ‘workers band’, described his experience as such:

So far, I composed twelve songs in Korea. [...] I met a manager of a famous Indonesian musical band during the ‘Thank You Concert’. He was interested in my career and wanted to work together. Although I could show my works to him, I decided to do it after returning to Indonesia. So, I just received his name card. There is a famous band in Indonesia. They worked as TKI in Japan like me. During their stay, they made a song named ‘Ishiteru’ (I love you). After this song was released, the band became famous in Indonesia. You can find this song on youtube. I want to be a famous musician like them. (Zhunk, 35 years old, from Cirebon)

Therefore, based on their relatively high social status among Indonesian immigrants in Wongok-Dong, Indonesian immigrants involved in integrated Indonesian communities can obtain chances to connect with people who can provide various opportunities for their future.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have argued that there are possibilities to yield ‘hidden bridging social capital’ among Indonesian immigrants through formulating linking social capital in Wongok-Dong. Indonesian migrants have maintained or transcended their boundaries by responding to various situations in Korea. As a result of this they have generated bonding, bridging and linking social capital with which to maintain their lives in Korea.

On the one hand, Indonesian migrants as members of *paguyubans* have effectively

coped with the different surroundings of Korea through using resources from their *paguyuban*. Firstly, they can eliminate the cultural fatigue created by unfamiliar Korean surroundings by sharing common cultural practices with *kawan sekampung*. Secondly, members of *paguyubans* can secure a temporary house in Wongok-Dong. It means that Indonesian migrants who are living outside of Wongok-Dong can feel a 'hometown atmosphere' at the weekend. In addition, due to Wongok-Dong's location, securing a temporary house there can be useful for members of *paguyuban* looking for a job. Thirdly, employment opportunities can be served by their *kawan sekampung*. Under the Korean system, undocumented migrants cannot access the formal routes to find job in Korea. For this reason, social networks can be an important resource for finding a job. Finally, *paguyuban* fundraising efforts help Indonesian migrants prepare for potential difficulties in the future. In particular, undocumented members of *paguyuban* gain these profits after industrial accidents or when facing forced repatriation after arrest by immigration officers.

On the other hand, each subject (Korean and Indonesian) has achieved their own objectives through the resources available in Wongok-Dong. Basically, Koreans and Indonesians can be resources to each other in the Wongok-Dong context. Korean groups such as the government, political parties and merchants need the networks and human capital of Indonesian migrants to achieve their administrative, political and economic goals. It is difficult for Indonesians to build relationships with Koreans and, for this reason, having a Korean network can be a source of pride and power within the Indonesian group. Although Korean and Indonesians need each other in Wongok-Dong, Indonesian migrants should have the ability to satisfy the demands of the Korean group. In this context, the ICC, which is an integrated Indonesian community, has monopolised information and opportunities from Koreans in Wongok-Dong. As a result, their status has been strengthened. After establishment of AKTIS, competition between the two groups was

unavoidable. However, this competition was not only for gaining Korean networks but also extending Indonesian networks by redistributing the resources that come from Koreans in Wongok-Dong.

Hence, Indonesian migrants have formed bonding and linking social capital in the Wongok-Dong context. In terms of bonding social capital, each *paguyuban* has produced the resources to cope with the harsh conditions of Korea. Members of *paguyuban* can overcome various problems through using these resources. In the case of bridging social capital, although Indonesian immigrants have the chance to build bridging social capital beyond their *paguyuban* in Wongok-Dong, there are no differences in terms of yielding social outcomes between bonding and bridging social capital due to their status as foreign migrant workers in Wongok-Dong. Thus, linking social capital, which comes from relationship with Koreans or Indonesians who have relatively high social status, can be used for creating additional resources among Indonesians in Wongok-Dong. To build social relationships with Koreans who regard Indonesians as a resource, Indonesian immigrants have to secure Indonesian networks beyond their *paguyuban*. In this context, it is possible to produce ‘hidden bridging social capital’ among Indonesians who have different social backgrounds in Wongok-Dong. In this perspective, although existing studies reveal that accumulating bridging social capital between locals and foreign migrants can lead to the integration of immigrants in the host society, creating ‘hidden bridging social capital’ among Indonesians can yield a different perspective on the integration issues of foreign immigrants. On the basis of this, in the next chapter, I will discuss the transnational activities of Indonesian immigrants to clarify the role of hidden bridging social capital and the integration issues of Indonesian immigrants in Wongok-Dong.

CHAPTER 8: THE TRANSNATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF INDONESIAN MIGRANTS AND THE PARADOX OF INTEGRATION

HIDDEN SOCIAL CAPITAL, INDONESIANS' TRANSNATIONAL ACTIVITIES AND INTEGRATION

In this chapter, I argue that Indonesian immigrants in Korea achieve a new integration pattern by maintaining strong connections with their homeland.

There have been a lot of discussions in academia dealing with the relationship between transnational activities and integration. Early discussions of migrant transnationalism highlight that immigrants choose isolation from the host society by conducting transnational activities as a self-adaptation strategy rather than assimilate themselves into the host society (Vertovec 2009). However, another perspective shows that immigrants' transnational activities can be an alternative tool for achieving integration into the host society (Portes, 2001). Nevertheless, it is not clear whether immigrants' transnational activities improve integration into the host countries or not (see Kivisto, 2005; Morawska, 2003; Vertovec, 2007, 2009). Several researchers have shown that transnational activities enhance assimilation into the host society (Guranizo et al., 2003; Portes, 2001; Portes et al., 2001). Others have focused on the negative consequences of transnational activities in migrants' integration (Cohen and Sirkeci, 2005).

However, both theoretical frameworks should be applied to examine the case of the Indonesian migrant group in Wongok-Dong, whose temporary status makes it unusual.

Under the conditions in Korea, Indonesian migrants have tried to maintain social, economic, political and cultural connections with their home country. They therefore undertake transnational practices, such as sending remittances, initiating ethnic businesses, visiting and maintaining contact with their family and friends in their home country, joining organisations and participating in cultural festivals, and through their efforts they are able to manage their life in Wongok-Dong. Nevertheless, there are differences in the ways that Indonesian migrants conduct these transnational activities. On the one hand, Indonesian migrants who have integrated into Wongok-Dong have more chances to achieve transnational activities. In other words, social links with people from different social backgrounds play an important role in creating various ways to connect with their homeland. On the other hand, there are Indonesians whose social networks are limited to the members of their *paguyuban* and are regarded as isolated persons, but who may also obtain chances to perform transnational activities through 'hidden bridging social capital' produced by Indonesian immigrants' *habitus*. In other words, isolated Indonesians who have various identities, such as Muslim and Indonesian, reveal one or other of these identities to obtain resources distributed by integrated Indonesians.

Based on this, I suggest that both integrated and less-integrated Indonesians in Wongok-Dong maintain strong transnational activities and achieve integration through them. To support this argument, I will describe how important transnational activities are to Indonesian immigrants in Korea. More importantly, I will examine how both integrated and isolated Indonesians in Wongok-Dong enhance their transnational activities. Examining the relationship between transnationalism and integration in the context of Wongok-Dong will provide not only a concrete understanding of 'hidden bridging social capital' but also a new perspective on immigrants' integration into the host society.

LIFE TOWARDS 'INDONESIA'

As argued previously, there are differences among Indonesian migrants in terms of assimilating themselves in Wongok-Dong through building social capital. Nevertheless, most of the migrants have maintained a strong connection with their home. Below I examine why most Indonesian migrants focus on performing transnational activities.

Expected returnees

Most Indonesian migrants do not consider Korea as a permanent place in which to live. After immigration, they experience various 'cultural' differences in Korea. Therefore, as I argued in the previous chapter, Indonesian migrants suffer from cultural fatigue caused by language barriers, the Korean work culture and food consumption practices. The migrants' inability to reconcile these concerns often leads them to a decision to leave Korea.

Life in Korea is difficult to me. I cannot speak Korean well. Working in the factory is also tough. I'm under a lot of stress. Sometime, I really want to return to Indonesia. Nevertheless, I should endure this to earn the money. (Herwin, 30 years old, from Makasar)

On the other hand, there are Indonesians who really enjoy their life in Korea. However, the Korean immigration system is a barrier to staying in the country. The majority of Indonesians are guest workers with an E-9 visa. Under this visa category, guest workers can stay in Korea for a maximum period of four years and ten months. Even though there are a lot of undocumented Indonesian migrants who break this rule, they are not free from the threat of enforced repatriation. One migrant who overstayed had the following to say:

I don't want to go back to Indonesia. I would like to live in Korea, it is very modern. My hometown is underdeveloped. It is dirtier

than Yogyakarta¹¹⁹. I'm staying here as an illegal. I also know how to avoid immigrant officers [crackdown]. Nevertheless, this has limitations. I don't know when I meet immigration officers. It depends on Allah.¹²⁰ (Anto, 35 years old, from Kendal)

Although Anto can stay as an undocumented migrant in Korea, he continually thinks about the possibility of repatriation. Although he is experienced in avoiding crackdowns¹²¹, due to the repatriation of many of his undocumented friends, he realises that there is not much he can do to avoid a serious crackdown by the immigration office. Hence, he has already given up on the idea of permanent settlement in Korea.

Aside from the visa issue, people decide to leave Korea as they grow older because of the arduousness of the work. Migrant workers endure hard physical labour in 3D (dangerous, difficult and dirty) sectors under the EPS. However, there are no chances to escape from the tough job sectors as Asly, a migrant who overstayed for eight years, explained:

It is difficult to do factory work as time goes on. Working in the factory is very tough to old men. Because of this, I am exhausted every day. Even young people feel tired. I have worked for a long time in Korea. So, my salary went up every year. Making money is good but I want to do easy task. [Silence] As you know, I cannot do this. (Asly, 45 years old, from Bima)

In contrast to limitations suffered by Indonesian migrants with E-9 visas, the Indonesian marriage migrant group is unaffected by the regulations of EPS. However, a marriage migrant, who can stay permanently in Korea, may have a negative stance toward settlement due to the lack of opportunities to enhance their status in Korea and the

¹¹⁹ He knows that I studied in Yogyakarta.

¹²⁰ He was forcibly repatriated to Indonesia in February 2013.

¹²¹ In fact, he has used many methods to prepare against crackdown. For example, he knew that there were a lot of immigration officers in front of Ansan station. When he visited Wongok-Dong, thus, he always alighted at the station before Ansan and took the taxi to Wongok-Dong. In addition, he used to avoid the main road in Wongok-Dong. Finally, he stressed that being well-dressed helped him avoid crackdown.

comparative economic advantages of returning to Indonesia. Yati, who is a *warung* owner and a female marriage migrant, said as such:

I want to go back to my hometown. Construction of my house in Cirebon is almost completed. So, I have a plan to move back to Indonesia within the next few years. Life in Korea is very tough, isn't it? I can work hard and earn the money here. But, I cannot achieve what I want in Korea because I'm a foreigner. I do not want to live like this in the near future. But the value of Korean money can be calculated at ten times that of the Indonesian Rupiah. I will do business with this money in Indonesia. (Yati, 38 years old, from Cirebon)

Yati wants to use her transnational status – acquired by migrating to Korea – to her advantage in both countries. More specifically, as the spouse of a Korean, Yati has access to the social, economic and political capital needed to establish a *warung*. Thus, she can comfortably make money and work as an owner of the *warung* in comparison to other Indonesians who work in 3D jobs. On the basis of economic profits and stable work in Korea, she expects to have an easier life on her return to Indonesia.

Remittance and investment

As stated above, Indonesian migrants expect to return to Indonesia for various reasons. Because of this, their main objective in Korea is increasing their assets in Indonesia. For this reason, their economic activities focus on sending remittances to their families in Indonesia. According to Vertovec (2009), remittance falls into three spending patterns: family maintenance and housing improvement, conspicuous consumption and productive activities. In this regard, migration and remittances are immigrants' rational strategies for risk diversification (Stark, 1991), as becomes apparent in the case of Indonesian immigrants in Wongok-Dong. The following narrative is about one Indonesian migrant's income and consumption.

My salary is 1400,000 won per month. I send 1000,000 won to my family every month. 400,000 won is enough to live here since I live in dormitory of the company. I don't need money for rent. However, I spend a lot on international telephone cards. I usually use three cards per week. [...] Weekends, I go to *warung*. I buy cigarettes and take the bus. That's it. (Reza, 32 years old, from Jawa)

Even though there are differences in Indonesian migrants' patterns of income and consumption, their largest expense is remitting money to their families in Indonesia. The remittance is used to support their family's livelihood. Most Indonesians emigrate to Korea because of the high unemployment rate and low salaries in Indonesia. This group of migrants are usually also the head of the household or are responsible for providing financial support for their families. However, they need to pay fees for emigrating to Korea. People who do not have this money often rely on bank loans or use their social networks to fund the initial costs of migration to Korea.

I'm staying here as an undocumented migrant. I really want to go back to Indonesia. However, it's very difficult to find a job there. If I found a job, the salary is not enough to live with my family. Although I have an elder brother and father in Indonesia, they do not have a job. So, I need to earn as much money as possible and send it to my family. It will be a living expense for my family. Moreover, I have debt. Because I did not have money for emigration to Korea, I borrowed this from many people in my hometown. Hence, money can be sent to pay back debt. (Agil, 33 years old, from Bandung)

As time goes by, Indonesian migrants can pay back all their debt from the emigration process. Then, they endeavour to bring one of their family members to their new country. That is, economic stability and the existence of family members overseas trigger chain migration. The following narrative illustrates the story of one village in Bima and my respondent's process of emigration to Korea.

When I was in Bima, about three hundred people from our village

migrated abroad to work. Women went to Hong Kong, Singapore and worked as housemaids. [...] People give information about their destination country. Also, they sent money to their family. So, many villagers can migrate to other countries because they became rich enough to pay the immigration cost. I'm in the same situation. When I prepared to migrate to Korea, my brother already worked in Korea. He paid my emigration costs. (Asly, 45 years old, from Bima)

Although Indonesians emigrate to foreign countries to avoid the instability caused by unemployment and low salaries in Indonesia, the profits generated by favourable exchange rates between countries can also trigger migration. The Korean won is valued about ten times more than the Indonesian rupiah. Moreover, the cost of living in Indonesia is lower than in Korea. Thus, the family members of migrants can use the remittances sent to them to invest in real estate as well as provide financial support for the family's everyday living costs.

My salary is about 2000,000 won per month and I usually remit 1500,000 won to my family. From the money, my wife spends about 300,000 won for living per month. It is enough since that money can be 3000,000 won in Indonesia. The rest of the money is used for building my house, saving and buying land. [...] The price of land has risen about 300 percent compared to five years ago. (Junario, 37 years old, from Kendal)

Junario, who is Javanese, stressed his successful investment. Purchasing land within the Javanese community elevates the status of the migrant and their family. Indonesia is an agrarian society and, according to Yang (1997), farmland is unequally distributed among Indonesians. That is, there are three kinds of groups: landowner, self-employed farmer and peasant farmer. If landowners and self-employed farmers have spare farmland, they offer this for tenant farming for one year. There are a lot of Javanese who do not have enough farmland. Consequently, the Javanese end up working as peasant farmers, cultivating the farmland of landowners or other self-employed farmers. Hence, when the Javanese move

to Korea for work and start to remit, the family in Indonesia aims to accumulate enough funds to purchase their own farmland. Land ownership, especially of farmland, is one of the pathways the Javanese undertake to enhance their status within their hometown community.

In addition to securing a stable and elevated economic status in Indonesia by securing farmland and a house, Indonesian migrants also start businesses in preparation for their future return to Indonesia.

My wife and child live in my hometown now. After building a house and buying farmland, I invested my money to open a beauty shop. My wife used to work as hairstylist. So, she has skill. Now, there are four employees in the shop. I will help this business after returning to Indonesia since it is difficult to get a job there. (Yonto, 41 years old, from Surabaya)

In brief, Indonesian migrants have endeavoured to support not only their families livelihoods but also their own lives in their home country through remittances and investment.

Transnational communication by mobile phone and SNS

Although Indonesian migrants make a connection with their homeland through remittance and investment, they always lamented their inability to make a personal connection with their families. In my interviews with respondents, they always spoke about their absence in their homeland; they also spoke about their family and friends in Indonesia. In other words, the movement of money and products can be easily achieved but the migrant's physical mobility is difficult between countries. In this regard, Vertovec (2004) suggest that communication technologies such as the telephone, fax, and Internet provide chances to bind people together over great physical distances. These technologies have played a crucial role in maintaining an emotional connection with the home country. In this context,

international calling and online communication have played important roles in supporting migrants' life in Korea. The various communication technologies provided my respondents with a medium by which to receive emotional support from their friends and family members in Indonesia, as Ahmad's experience shows:

Although there are a lot of problems in Korea, homesickness is the worst thing about life in Korea. Whenever I felt homesick, I used to call my family. Then I said, "Korea finish! Korea finish! I want to go back to Indonesia". Shouting these words and hearing the voice of my family made me feel better. (Ahmad, 36 years old, Seragen)

Indonesian migrants try to connect with people not only in Indonesia but also in other countries by telephone. In addition to Korea, Indonesians have moved to other countries such as Malaysia, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Saudi Arabia. Among people who are working in these countries, there are family (brothers and sisters) and friends of Indonesian migrants in Korea. Therefore, the telephone enables Indonesian migrants to connect with friends and family in Korea and other countries around the world.

Male Indonesian migrants also seek to keep in touch, via telephone, with their girlfriends in other countries such as Hong Kong, Saudi Arabia, Taiwan and so on. Most of the Indonesian migrants in Wongok-Dong are male. When I visited Wongok-Dong, I wondered about the skewed gender ratio. I asked one *warung* owner about this. He said that "males are ninety per cent of all Indonesians here. For this reason, all female Indonesians in Wongok-Dong have a boyfriend." In addition, when I asked male migrants about the hardest thing in Korea, many Indonesians answered, "I do not have a girlfriend here. It is the toughest." Male migrants among my respondents tried to overcome this limitation through international calling. Zhunk, who is an international calling card seller, explains:

Indonesian migrants [male] frequently call Hong Kong since there are a lot of Indonesian women there. They are TKI as well. As you know, there are few Indonesian women here. So, men want to talk

to women. Indonesian women in Hong Kong also want to make Indonesian boyfriend due to the lack of Indonesian men there. [...] Also, when Indonesians go back to Indonesia, those who have a girlfriend, usually purchase the ticket via the Hong Kong route to meet her. (Zhunk, 35 years old from Ceirbon)

In addition, international calling plays a key role in an important ritual among migrants. Male migrants might suffer from the lack of Indonesian women in Wongok-Dong, yet, Indonesian couples have met in Wongok-Dong. Marriage is one of the most important ceremonies in people's lives. Since Indonesian migrant couples cannot return to their country to marry and it is also difficult to invite family members and friends from Indonesia to Korea, the telephone provides a bridge between the couple and their families on the wedding day. The following conversations occurred in one Indonesian couples' wedding ceremony:

Bride: Hello? Yes, all guests are here for my wedding. I will put officiant on.

Officiant: *Assalammualaikum* [Islamic greeting]. I'm an imam of *Sirothol Mustaqim masjid* and an officiant of this wedding. Your daughter Siti will get married to bridegroom Ergi here. I'm calling you to make sure. Do you approve this marriage? (Source: You, 2010:1)

Therefore international calling is the medium by which migrants overcome the issues caused by physical separations.

Although Indonesian migrants have tried to connect with their family and friends through international calling, social networking services (SNS) such as Facebook and Twitter are more broadly used for communication. International calling is the effective way to directly exchange emotion with people living in different countries. However, it is expensive and, for this reason, SNS is usually used for daily chatting with people.

Among SNSs, Facebook has played a pivotal role in maintaining regular

communication with family and friends. Adam and Ghose (2003: 413) suggest that the Internet enables immigrants to build ‘bridgespace’ – “a set of connections between here and there, in both a geographical and a cultural sense, like a rail yard and airport”. This is certainly the case among Indonesian immigrants in Wongok-Dong. Most of the Indonesians I met during my fieldwork in Wongok-Dong had a Facebook account. At the beginning of my fieldwork, I did not have a Facebook account. It was only when one of my key informants, Agil, encouraged me to register that I became part of the online community. I often asked Agil, “what are you doing with your friends? Where they are from? Do you participate in hometown activities?” He answered these questions and added, “I use this website (Facebook) to talk with my friends. We upload photos and videos. So, if you register and use it, we can share this online.” After ‘friending’¹²² him on Facebook, I understood what he wanted to say. He had a lot of friends who lived in countries around the world and were not limited to Indonesia and Korea. His news feed was full of photos and stories about the daily lives of his friends. Under his friends’ posts many people also made comments. The use of Facebook becomes a way to move between countries by trying to connect ‘here’ and ‘there’ by sharing details of daily life.

I observed many times during my fieldwork that Indonesians were fixated on Facebook. In many places such as *warungs*, the ICC office, *Rumah Kontrakan*, and *Sirothol Mustaqim*, the majority of Indonesians I observed sat in front of the computer and continually used Facebook throughout the day. Facebook usage was not limited to computers and laptops; people with smart phones used Facebook using cellular communication or wireless connectivity. Consequently, my respondents used Facebook on the streets, shops, subway and so on. Anto, another respondent, explained his Facebook

¹²² ‘Friending’ refers to the Facebook function that allows users to add ‘friends’ or contacts to their Facebook account.

usage pattern as such:

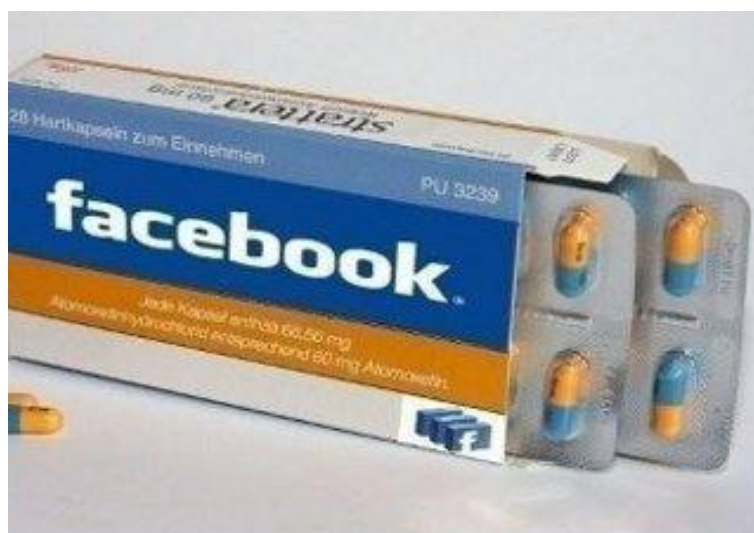
Usually, I spend more than 4 hours a day chatting with people through Facebook. Nowadays, I work at night. About 9 o'clock in the morning, I return to my dormitory. And then, I 'Facebook' until 1 pm. [...] I can use Facebook everywhere with a smart phone. (Anto, 35 years old, from Kendal)

Moreover, one Indonesian migrant showed his usage of Facebook by posting an edited picture with the title 'create addiction' illustrating Facebook as an addictive drug on his Facebook timeline (see Figure 10). The following are the comments people left regarding the photograph:

'N': Hax hax hax. If I took this medicine, I can calm myself down. Wherever I am, I can say with this pack of medicine. I would like to bring this to the factory as well.

'T': It's kind of methamphetamine addiction. Hax3

Figure 10. Description of the role of Facebook.¹²³



Although 'T' likens his use of Facebook to a methamphetamine addiction, 'N' highlights its use as a means as a medicine to heal their emotional wounds in Korea. Fetcher (2007) suggests that expatriates can "break the isolation" by maintaining contact

Source: anonymous Indonesian Facebook postone anonymous Indonesian Facebook

with their friends by using the Internet and email. In a similar vein, Indonesian immigrants' frequent use of Facebook is caused by a yearning to communicate with people at 'home' on a daily basis. Indonesian migrants can hang around *kawan sekampung* or Indonesian friends in Wongok-Dong. Nevertheless, they spend most of their time alone. Hence, Facebook becomes an important tool to overcome the physical distance between Korea and Indonesia.

I worked for 12 hours per day. During this time, I could not say anything since I should work continually in the factory. After getting off work, I'm totally exhausted. So, I do not have energy to meet friends here. Although I feel loneliness, I can meet my friends and family on Facebook. It's very easy. They talk a lot on Facebook. (Yuno, 32 years old, from Bandung)

Even though Indonesian migrants suffer from disconnection with people in daily life, Facebook enables them to overcome barriers of time and place to communicate with people. If they have devices with which to connect to the Internet, they can make conversation with people wherever they are. When people log in to their Facebook account, they can follow the daily life events of their 'Facebook friends' through news feeds. Indonesians usually post many kinds of pictures such as themselves, food, places they have visited, goods they want or have purchased and so on. In addition, various opinions are shared on the website. These enable them to talk with their acquaintances and Facebook is considered as an escape from the stresses of life in Korea and a means of coping with and maintaining that life.

Even though Indonesians talk about various matters with people on Facebook, the important thing is that their communications are about 'communication (contact) with absence'. In other words, they are focused on what they do not have. On the one hand, people in Indonesia post photos of their house, food, family and surroundings on Facebook, prompting Indonesians living outside their hometown to express 'longing':

A: Ah ... I miss my hometown, my village! It's so peaceful.

B: Hey you! Come back quickly... hometown is waiting for you.
Ha Ha.

A: Although I have a lot to do there, I will go back to there on July.
Is there nothing changes?

[...]

B: I will keep my fingers crossed for your good luck.

A: Amen ... I hope so ... *insballah*.

C: I miss you

A: I miss you all guys. (Source: You 2011: 39)

On the other hand, Indonesian migrants upload to their Facebook account evidence of their activities and successes that come from overseas employment, which leads to 'envy' among Indonesians staying in Indonesia. For example, one Indonesian migrant posted a photograph of his new house in Indonesia. His *kawan sekampung* commented about the picture as such:

A: Great!!! How much did it cost?

B: I spent quite a sum for this house. Ha Ha.

A: You are a really successful man!

B: Success? I just worked hard to chase my dream.

[...]

C: You became rich man. One thing you have to do is choose
bride who are waiting in the line to get your love. (Source: You
2011: 40)

On Facebook, moreover, the activities of Indonesian migrants in Korea play an important role in triggering interests among people in Indonesia. As I showed in Chapter 6, Indonesian migrants initiate extra activities based on opportunities provided by the socio-

economic conditions in Korea. In this regard, Facebook becomes a tool to show migrants' improvements in Korea.

I'm good at taking a photo and videography. I obtained these skills in Korea. Nowadays, I would like to learn how to write scenario for broadcasting and film. So far, I uploaded my photos and activities on Facebook. People make a lot of comments under the pictures. Also, I express my feeling or thinking there. I will write the story for a film from now on. (Karim, 34 years old, from Sulawesi)

I have a portfolio on Facebook. There are a lot of photos according to concepts such as wedding, *Ramadan*, freedom and so on. My friends make a lot of positive comments like this: "It is so cool or good job". Also, they click 'like' under my photo. Especially people in Indonesia want to come to Korea due to my activities. (Herman, 33 years old, from Bima)

Even though the display of migrants' activities on Facebook became one of the factors that attracts Indonesians to Korea, it also emphasises the migrants' absence from their home country. That is, Herman and Karim are proud of their activities in Korea. Nevertheless, they are afraid since they are staying not in Indonesia but Korea. As a temporary migrant in Korea, they always think about returning and need to prepare for the future. For this reason, seeking opinions from people in Indonesia minimises the uncertainties around returning to Indonesia:

I'm away from Indonesia for 12 years. I do not know what I should do when I go back to Indonesia. If I meet my friend in Indonesia again, it makes me awkward. I'm afraid of this so much. As you know, we have lived in different surroundings for long time. (Anto, 35 years old, from Kendal)

Anto stresses the need to minimise the limitations caused by physical and physiological distance between countries. In this context, Indonesian migrants have focused on transnational activities to sustain their lives in Korea.

INTEGRATED INDONESIANS AS PRODUCERS OF AN 'INDONESIA'

In this section, I suggest that integrated Indonesians in Wongok-Dong have actively produced an 'Indonesia'. As I described above, Indonesian migrants who cannot freely move between Korea and Indonesia have made great efforts to connect with their homeland within Korea, particularly by seeking ways to experience a hometown atmosphere in Korea. Based on this context, there is a need for sustained social contact with their home and therefore migrants create their places in Korea to fulfil that desire. In this regard, several Indonesian migrants have used their position as an integrated Indonesian to achieve this in Wongok-Dong. More specifically, as described in the previous chapter, Indonesian immigrants' specific skills, knowledge and social networks enable them to make social relationships with Koreans and Indonesians who have relatively higher positions. Based on this, accumulated networks with Koreans and Indonesians can be used to prepare foundations to achieve transnational activities in Wongok-Dong.

Making a product

Indonesian migrants who have integrated into Wongok-Dong have initiated ethnic businesses through using their Koreans and Indonesian social networks. Indonesian migrants who have E-9 visa are not allowed to work in any place except the designated labour sectors such as manufacturing, fishing and the construction industry. Basically, for this reason, they cannot work in service sectors such as restaurants, mobile phone shops and so on. However, some Korean business owners hire Indonesian migrants as part- or full- time workers. As described in the previous chapter, Korean merchants do this because of the importance of having an Indonesian network to achieve economic gain. In other words, the success of this type of business depends on its Indonesian employees' ability to gather potential customers. For this reason, Koreans want to hire Indonesians who are

active and well known within the Indonesian group. In this context, Indonesian employees can obtain the right to re-sell international calling cards from Korean mobile phone shop owners.

Zhunk is a full time seller of international calling cards. Although he used to work at the factory, he could be employed as a seller by one Korean businessman. Actually, he is very famous among Indonesian migrants in Wongok-Dong. He had performed a lot in demonstrations as a leader of a workers' band. Because of his well known status, he appeared in the hit Korean film titled 'Banga Banga'.¹²⁴ Because he is very famous among Indonesians, he can easily attract second international calling card sellers as a customer.¹²⁵ He has 25 customers who are leaders of *paguyuban* and are from other regions such as *Ujungbu*, *Sumon* and *Pyeongtaek*.¹²⁶ (Zhunk 33 years old, from Cirebon)

Through extra jobs provided by Koreans, migrants are able to achieve economic success as time goes by. Based on this, migrants can start their own businesses to meet the demands of Indonesian migrants. The migrants then remit the money to Indonesia where it is used to support their family, repay debts, pay the immigration process fees of family members and invest in real estate. After fulfilling these duties, migrants can spend the surplus money on themselves. Thus, Indonesians seek new business by using the financial firepower and know-how that can be accumulated by long-term experience in Korea.

Herman is one of the executives of the ICC. In addition, he is well known as a fashion model and Master of Ceremony among Indonesian migrants in Wongok-Dong. He has lived in Korea for more than five years. Since 2004, he worked at a mobile phone shop as a part-time worker during the weekend. From that time, he could make a lot of money from part-time job. It was enough to

¹²⁴ The title of this movie can be translated in English as 'Hello, hello'. It illustrates the life of foreign migrants in Korea.

¹²⁵ According to Rath and Eurofound (2011), ethnic entrepreneurs can create jobs for others such as relatives, friends and acquaintances. Although Zhunk obtained his job through a Korean, he can distribute jobs to Indonesians as a secondary international calling seller. Therefore, he creates jobs for Indonesian immigrants in Korea.

¹²⁶ Zhunk distributes a lot of international calling card to secondary sellers who redistribute cards to *paguyuban* members and friends. More detailed information will be presented in later part of this chapter.

boil the pot in Korea. Thus, his salary from the factory could be remitted to Indonesia. Remitted money was used for building a house and buying land in his hometown. In addition, he bought two mini buses. After this, Herman turned his interests toward other business. Economic power and his relationship with his Korean boss in the mobile phone shop enabled him to start to sell high cost goods such as smart mobile phones to Indonesian migrants. (Herman, 33 years old, from Bima)

Indonesian marriage migrants have also used their special status to open their own businesses in Wongok-Dong. Although it is possible for working migrants to earn extra money in unofficial businesses, it is impossible for Indonesians with an E-9 visa to register a business. However, Indonesian marriage migrants, as the spouse of a Korean national, can open and formally register a business. Moreover, their position plays a key role in attracting Indonesian customers due to their Korean language skill and knowledge of Koreans:

Yati is a female marriage migrant and an owner of *Warung 'S'*. She emigrated to Korea twelve years ago and started work at the factory during the early years of her immigration. At the factory, she met one Korean guy and got married to him. In 2008, this married couple decided to open their Indonesian restaurant when they heard that shops that were selling foods, international calling cards, and groceries to Indonesian migrants worked well in Wongok-Dong. They thought that there were advantages in terms of initiating an Indonesian restaurant because of their status. Yati could formally register her business by using her spouses' position as Korean. In addition, she already knew how to cook several Indonesian foods and had already established an Indonesian migrant network. After starting the restaurant, she encountered Indonesians' various problems and tried to solve their troubles. She used to fundraise in her restaurants for injured Indonesians. Furthermore, she worked as an interpreter when her fellow Indonesians needed help. Due to her various activities for Indonesians, Yati was appointed *Oegukin Ingwon Jikimi* [a protector of foreign migrants' human right] by Ansan Foreign Migrant Community Service Centre. (Yati, 38 years old from Cirebon)

Finally, migrant human capital produces Indonesian entertainment in Wongok-Dong.

There are many Indonesian musical bands in Wongok-Dong. The members of these bands consist of Indonesian migrant workers who, after emigrating, earned enough money to purchase musical instruments. Then, they started to organise a band as a hobby and play for Indonesian audiences. Over time, the Indonesian bands started performing for Koreans who want to use the migrants' talents to achieve their objectives. For instance, one Indonesian band participated in demonstrations against the crackdown on foreign migrant workers;¹²⁷ another *Dangdut* band was often called upon by Koreans to present Indonesian traditional culture at multicultural festivals. As a result of their activities, the band members became famous among people in Wongok-Dong. The following story is about one Indonesian frontman of a *Dangdut* band.

Anto is a leader of the band, Maeswara. In 2008, he was a leader of *paguyuban* Kendal and started to perform the duty of MC [Master of Ceremonies] when *paguyuban* have events. On the basis of this, he started a band to enjoy *Dangdut* with friends. Moreover, he was working as an exclusive of the ICC. He performed several roles such as MC at *Tabligh Akbar*, Indonesian festivals, multicultural festivals and song festivals. These activities have brought positive effect to his band. Namely, Maeswara became a popular band among Indonesians. This band became one of the biggest Indonesian bands due to the huge profits¹²⁸. (Anto, 35 years old, from Kendal)

In the Wongok-Dong context, Indonesians who have special skills obtained chances to present their performances in public. As a result, their activities were commercialised by the needs of migrant Indonesians.

Preparing cultural space

Spaces for Indonesians have been created and maintained not only by integrated Indonesians but also by Koreans who want to achieve their goals in Wongok-Dong. Even

¹²⁷ See Chapter 7

¹²⁸ More detailed information about their economic activities will be described in the next section.

though there are Indonesian restaurants run by Indonesian marriage migrants in Wongok-Dong, most Indonesian restaurants there are run by Korean merchants.¹²⁹ To them, the most important thing is acquiring Indonesian customers. However, they cannot avoid competition with other Indonesian business owners due to the presence of a large number of Indonesian restaurants in Wongok-Dong. This creates tension that can spill into action designed to undermine a competitor. For example, there was an incident when somebody reported the presence of illegal Indonesian employees in Indonesian restaurants to the immigration office. All Indonesian cooks, waiter and waitress employed in Indonesia restaurants are undocumented migrants¹³⁰. Although Immigration officers already know this, they usually do not arrest them. However, immigration officers are required to act on specific reports of undocumented migrants. Thus, Indonesian employees of *Warung* 'D', *Warung* 'N', *Warung* 'A' and *Warung* 'K' were arrested over several days. Related to this incident, the owner of *Warung* 'S' said as follows:

After employees were arrested at *Warung* 'D', all Indonesian restaurant owners in Wongok-Dong gathered to discuss this issue. However, these were repeated. Yesterday, thus, we had meeting again. Owner of *Warung* 'K' asked his friend who is working in immigration office. His friend did not say who the reporter was. But, he said that the reporter was in the same line of work. [...] Because of this, cook of my restaurant ran away. She was very afraid of this. (Korean owner of *Warung* 'S',)

That is, an anonymous *warung* owner reported the presence of undocumented migrants working in a particular *warung* to immigration officers because of competition among restaurant owners.

The apprehension of Indonesian employees causes problems for restaurant owners

¹²⁹ During my fieldwork periods, there were four Indonesian restaurants run by Indonesian marriage migrants among a total of thirteen Indonesian restaurants.

¹³⁰ Migrants who have E-9 visa cannot work in the service sectors under the EPS. For this reason, Indonesians who want to work in a *warung* have to quit their designated job and become undocumented migrants.

since the owners are unable to run the restaurants at full capacity until they replace the arrested employees. In addition to finding new Indonesian employees, the owners also incur a fine for illegally hiring migrants without the appropriate paperwork. More importantly, the owners lose Indonesian customers and access to the wider Indonesian networks. Basically, there are two types of full-time Indonesian employees in the restaurants of Wongok-Dong.¹³¹ The first are the female cooks in the kitchen; the second are the male waiters who prepare drinks and serve food to the customers. These people are very important in attracting Indonesian migrants to their restaurant. As I argued in Chapter 5, Indonesian migrants choose to visit those *warungs* where they are likely to find the taste of their respective hometowns. Thus, Korean owners have to consider this when they hire a cook. However, female cooks have limited opportunities to extend their network due to the small number of female Indonesian migrants in Wongok-Dong. In this regard, the male waiters are crucial since they are more likely to lead more customers to the restaurant due to their wider personal networks. Therefore, the loss of Indonesian employees means a loss of Indonesian customers from the *paguyubans* in Wongok-Dong. The Korean owner of *warung* 'A' stressed the importance of Indonesian employees as such:

The important thing [to maintain restaurant] is *paguyuban*. Most of the Indonesian migrants are member of one of the *paguyubans*. There are strong bonds among them. So, friends of my employees visit our restaurant to help and see them. (Indonesian *Warung* 'A' Korean owner)

Thus, while Koreans own and manage most of the Indonesian restaurants in Wongok-Dong, maintaining them is dependant on attracting people through active Indonesian employees.

Similarly, the ICC office was provided by a Korean businessman who wanted to use

¹³¹ During the weekends, several Indonesian restaurants also use part-timer when needed.

the power and networks of an integrated Indonesian community. Although the ICC was established in 2006, there was no fixed place for the members of the group to meet until early 2010. Prior to 2010, the members gathered in the *paguyuban* house, Ansan Foreign Migrant Community Service Centre or Indonesian *warungs*. When I first met executives of the ICC, they were in their own offices. I asked Asri, an ICC executive, about the time when the office was first setup. He said, “a Korean provided us the space. Maybe, he wanted to sell international calling cards to us [Indonesians]”. The office was located in Wongok-Dong and consisted of one big hall, meeting room, toilet and kitchen. There were several tables, chairs, desktop computers and a big desk in the hall. In the meeting room, I found one big whiteboard, one big table and many chairs. In that place, I met the Korean businessman named Kim. While hand delivering my name card, I introduced myself as a doctoral candidate and explained to him what my research was about. He also gave his name card to me. His role was as an executive advisor to the ICC. After introducing ourselves, he said to me:

I’m supporting the ICC. However, I also do this for my business [...]. I equipped several computers in the hall for Indonesian visitors. In addition, Indonesian friends [the ICC members] wanted to prepare a kitchen. So, it is under construction now. [...] ‘E’ [an ICC member] will work in this office. [...] the ICC will dramatically change compared to before. I have a lot of plans to help Indonesian migrants in the near future. You are in good time for your research [laughing]. (Korean businessman)

During my fieldwork period, I could observe the various activities performed in the ICC office.¹³² Basically, ‘E’, who is one of the ICC executives, was hired as a full-time worker selling international calling cards to Indonesian migrants. In addition, Kim, as an executive advisor of the ICC, endeavoured to assist the ICC with various projects. For

¹³² The ICC office was one of the important places for my research. See methodology chapter for detailed information.

example, the ICC members followed his suggestion to create a newspaper called the ICC News. The paper reports on various matters, such as the recent activities of the ICC, information about fundraising for building the Indonesian *masjid* in Ansan, the activities of *Universitas Terbuka* (Open University), the introduction of the Indonesian embassy in Seoul, and includes several commercial advertisements for pre-paid international calling cards/flight tickets and so forth. Kim also wanted to hire a person to teach the Korean language to Indonesian migrants and supported the *Universitas Terbuka* (UT), often helping to secure classrooms for UT lectures.

Even though these activities superficially appear to be for Indonesian migrants, they actually mask the Kim's efforts to not only monopolise Indonesian networks but also obtain information about them in order to develop his business by using the status of the ICC. Kim had plans to sell various products such as tour packages, mobile phones and Korean ginseng to Indonesian migrants. He expected that he could easily build social relationship with Indonesian migrants by providing space to the integrated Indonesian community; in doing so, he secured himself many opportunities to distribute products to Indonesian networks.

The Indonesian *masjid* was established by an integrated Indonesian migrant community in Wongok-Dong. As I described in Chapter 6, Indonesian migrants have felt insecure and unsettled because of the absence of their own *masjid* and, for this reason, have endeavoured to establish one. Among their efforts, performances of *pagnyuban* bands have played a key role in fundraising for the Indonesian *masjid*. However, although Indonesians in Wongok-Dong aspired to have their *masjid*, segregations within the group obstructed the free flow of ideas and action to achieve their goal. In this regard, the ICC, as an integrated Indonesian community was crucial to solving the problem, as Anto, a member of the ICC and a *Dangut* bandleader, explained:

As you know, it was difficult to achieve the mutual exchange of ideas among *paguyubans* due to differences of hometown. However, the ICC has members from various *paguyuans*. We could gather leaders of each *paguyuban* to have a congress. So, we could mediate opinions of each *paguyuban*. As a result, we decided to have performance of Indonesian bands for fundraising. We could easily mobilise Indonesians from *paguyubans* for that event as well. [...] As far as I remember, participated bands were Maeswara, Dinasty, Workers band, Galok band [Lombok], Kosmis Band [Makasar] and Campur sari [Sragen] (Anto, 35 years old, from Kendal)

Therefore, the integrated Indonesian community spontaneously established the *masjid* by using its powerful and integrated status in Wongok-Dong.

Performing national ceremony

In addition to the products and spaces produced by the position of integrated Indonesians in Wongok-Dong, the *Tabligh Akbar* (great sermon) is an event that demonstrates the power of integrated Indonesian communities. In 2010, the fourth *Tabligh Akbar* was held in front of Ansan Foreign Migrant Community Centre during the Chuseok holidays. About 3,000 Indonesian migrants living in Kyeonggi province, the Indonesian ambassador and his family, and the head of Ansan Foreign Migrant Community Centre attended the ceremony. In addition, Ustadz Wijayanto and Dick Doank were invited from Indonesia for the event.¹³³

The ceremony is held annually by the KMI (*Komunitas Muslim Indonesia*: Indonesian Muslim community), a federation of eighteen Indonesian *masjids* scattered throughout Korea.¹³⁴ Although the activities of the KMI are focused on religious practices, it is difficult to believe that its aims are purely religious. Members of the organisation place a high value on religious rather than regional origin and stress that prayer can eliminate conflicts

¹³³ Ustadz Wijayanto is the leader of religion in Indonesia. Dick Doank is an Indonesian popular singer.

¹³⁴ During my fieldwork there were sixteen Indonesian *masjids* in Korea (You, 2010).

between Indonesians from different hometowns. The KMI realised the need to enhance togetherness amongst Indonesian migrants through religion and, on the basis of this perspective, planned the *Tabligh Akbar*.

While the KMI is credited with setting up the *Tabligh Akbar*, the ICC also played an important role in assisting the KMI with the annual event. The KMI organised a fundraising event called *Sumbangan* with many Indonesian *masjids* in Korea. They also invited Islamic leaders and celebrities from Indonesia to visit Korea. However, they discovered that they were limited in terms of mobilising people from each *paguyuban* and by a lack of Korean networks. In this context, the ICC, as the manager of all *paguyubans*, helped the KMI overcome its limitations. More importantly, a venue for the event was rented through the ICC's Korean networks as Asly, an ICC member, explained:

The ICC had a lot of chances to contact with Koreans in Ansan Foreign Migrant Community Centre. Whenever they needed us for festivals and other activities, we helped them. For this reason, Koreans helped us as well. Every year, we have held *Tabligh Akbar* in Ansan. We could rent the place for this through Koreans. [...] KMI is a big community. However, they just focus on religion. So, they do not have Korean friends. (Anto, 35 years old, from Kendal)

The integrated Indonesian community of the ICC and the KMI, thus, worked together to produce the *Tabligh Akbar* – an Indonesian national ceremony in Ansan.

In summary integrated Indonesian immigrants with Korean networks can, using their specific resources, initiate their own businesses, create Indonesian cultural spaces and create national ceremonies in Wongok-Dong. These produced 'Indonesia' become foundations to perform transnational activities among Indonesians.

ISOLATED INDONESIANS AS CONSUMERS OF 'INDONESIA'

In the previous section, I suggested that integrated Indonesians who have extended networks with Koreans and Indonesians create and maintain an 'Indonesia' in Wongok-Dong. In this section, conversely, I suggest that isolated Indonesians who have limited relationships outside their *paguyuban* have consumed this created 'Indonesia'.

In his work on Saudi Arabia, Mark Johnson (2010) illustrates the positive relationship that middle class Filipinos and Filipino migrant domestic workers enjoy in spite of the differences in their social status. Johnson (2010: 19) insists that "middle class people actively choose to associate and routinely interact with and provide succour and assistance for those who occupy different class and status positions on the basis of shared ethnic, national, religious and place-based identifications". In a similar vein, although there are social cleavages within the Indonesian migrant group, isolated migrants as Indonesians have made transnational connections without serious barriers with the assistance of integrated Indonesians due to Indonesian migrant's *habitus*. In this context, I focus on how passive Indonesians obtain the benefits of enjoying hometown atmosphere in Wongok-Dong.

Consuming products

Isolated Indonesians can easily undertake transnational activities by consuming the products produced by integrated Indonesians who puruit of economic profit by emphasising Indonesian identity rather than *paguyuban*. For example, Indonesian migrants consume international calling cards differently according to their circumstances. On average, Indonesian migrants spend 100,000 won per month on communication expenses. At the weekend, Indonesians living outside Wongok-Dong can be seen buying international calling cards in the mobile phone shops and Indonesian restaurants of the town.

Indonesians living in Wongok-Dong can buy cards whenever they want, but those living outside travel to the town at the weekend to buy international calling cards for the week ahead. In other words, migrants living outside Wongok-Dong have difficulty accessing the means to perform transnational activities because of their location. However, friends can provide another way of buying international calling cards without having to visit Wongok-Dong. Each pre-paid international calling card has a code under a hidden silver sticker. To make a call, people remove the sticker and put the PIN into their mobile phone. Thus, Indonesian dealers of international calling cards often just send the code to customers by text message, as Saiful, who lives in Eujungbu, explained:

It is difficult to buy a pre-paid international calling card in Eujungbu. Frankly speaking, I can buy it from the shop, but it is very inconvenient. For buying telephone card, I should go to the shop. It is located very far from my factory and dormitory. Also, I do not have time to buy it during the weekdays. Best way to buy telephone card is through my Indonesian friends [international calling card dealers]. [...] *Kawan sekampung* do not have advantage for buying international calling card from me. You know! I'm a national person. Every customer is same for me. (Saiful, 30 years old from Jawa)

Most international calling card sellers can purchase cards at a relatively cheap price from Indonesians working for Korean merchandisers. They can then be redistributed to friends for a profit.¹³⁵ More importantly, however, International calling card sellers stress Indonesian identity beyond their *paguyuban* to attract customers as much as possible. Hence, isolated Indonesians without easy access to shops or restaurants selling international calling cards can comfortably purchase them from sellers looking to earn money from the business.

Moreover, the assistance of integrated Indonesians pursuing economic profits based

¹³⁵ Usually, international calling card sellers purchase a card for about 10,800 won and redistribute it for about 12,000 won.

on revealing national identity instead of their hometown membership can help isolated Indonesians eliminate the economic burden of conducting transnational activities. Indonesian migrants consider telephone calls and online communication as the only ways to connect with family and friends. For this reason, devices such as mobile phones and computers have become essential to maintain their lives in Korea. On arrival in Korea, Indonesian migrants immediately buy a mobile phone. Although some Indonesians buy a second-hand phone to use for talking and texting, most of them are interested in obtaining a smart phone to use SNS. By using Facebook and Twitter, Indonesian migrants can communicate without extra expense. Since they cannot afford personal computers, smart phones are the best choice for those wishing to use SNS. However, it is difficult for Indonesian migrants to buy these devices. Indonesian migrants who have an E-9 visa cannot get a credit card because of their temporary status and lack of economic base in Korea. For this reason, paying cash is the only way to purchase a smart phone, which costs around 800,000 won. In this regard, Herman who works in a mobile phone shop talks about his experience:

There are a lot of Indonesian friends who want to buy a smart phone. Indonesians like Samsung galaxy and iphone, which are expensive. However, many of them do not have enough money to buy that. In this case, I can sell mobile phone to them. For example, I purchase it instead of them. They pay money to me through three times. It's like an installment plan. If the price of the mobile phone is 800,000 won, I can earn 80,000 in commission. [...] However, I do this not for only economic profits but for Indonesian migrants who suffer from financial problem. I should help Indonesian migrants because I'm Indonesian too. (Herman, 33 years old, from Bima)

Therefore, isolated Indonesians can overcome an economic barrier with the help of an integrated Indonesian who wants to earn money emphasising their national identity rather than *paguyuban*.

Migrants also consume Indonesian ‘cultural’ products. For example, Indonesian musical bands regularly perform at the various events such as *paguyuban* gatherings, multicultural festivals, Indonesian festivals and wedding ceremonies. Although there are many Indonesian bands, most of them were founded according to their members’ regional origin.¹³⁶ Consequently each band mainly focuses on performing for its own *paguyubans*.

We used to support *paguyuban* events that were related to our members. For example, we did performances for Berpes, Kendal and Bojonogoro since members of our band were from these regions. [...] We went to the Indonesian embassy to hold a concert. At that time, a former leader of Kendal who was working there asked us to do this. (Anto, 35 year old, from Kendal)

Nevertheless, Indonesians who are members of other *paguyubans* also can obtain benefits from these bands. During *Seol* (Korean new-year) and *Chuseok* (Korean thanksgiving day), each *paguyuban* has a big gathering. At these events the inclusion of a band is considered as crucial to the *paguyuban*’s plans, hence, the pre-existing relationship between *paguyuban* and band members is very important. However, many *paguyubans* have found it difficult to secure a band because they don’t have a relationship with band members with the same regional origin. However, SNS has provided them with a chance to contact band members.

Last *Chuseok*, we had six performances. We got a lot of requests from many *paguyubans*. These were Berpes, Blitar, Kediri, Bima, Bojonogoro and Kenal. In addition to events during *Chuseok*, we held concerts for Indonesians in Yongin and Eunjungbu. [...] I got many messages from strangers. They requested me to hold performances for them. Maybe, they must have looked at my Facebook. I uploaded many pictures about our performances there. Even though I did not know these Indonesians, accepting their demands was no problem to me. They make us money. We got 500,000 won per performance. However, the main income is from large tips. It was more than 1,000,000 won each concert. [...] More importantly, my band performance for every Indonesians in Korea

¹³⁶ Galok (Lombok), Workers Band (Indonesia), Maeswara (Central/East Java), Dynasti (Central Java), Kosmis (Makassar: Sulawesi), Campur sari (Seragen: Central Java) and dream formation (East Java)

because I'm an Indonesian beyond *paguyuban* (Anto, 35 years old, from Kendal)

Anto was happy to hold concerts for unfamiliar Indonesians, to whom he was not connected, in his pursuit of profit. However, he did not forget emphasising his identity as an Indonesian instead of *paguyuban* for justification of his economic activities. Thus, isolated Indonesians can 'consume' the products of Indonesia created in Korea, in this case the hometown atmosphere brought by an Indonesian band, with the help of integrated Indonesians.

Occupying cultural space

In Wongok-Dong, prepared spaces can be used by isolated Indonesians by Indonesian migrant's *habitus*. Isolated Indonesians obtain services from *warungs* that were established to make money. Although Indonesian migrants visit *warung* to satisfy their hunger, the main role of the *warung* is to provide a hometown atmosphere to Indonesians (see figure 11). When an Indonesian enters a *warung*, he can escape from Korean surroundings; in the centre of the *warung* is a big television broadcasting Indonesian programmes, the walls are decorated with pictures of famous Indonesian tourist sites, Indonesian food fills the shelves, all advertisements are written in Indonesian and every conversation takes place in Indonesian. That is, the only evidence that this space is in Korea is the presence of the Korean owner. Indonesian migrants who have a *Rumah Kontrakan* can feel a hometown atmosphere in their house, but, for isolated Indonesians without a group, visiting a *warung* is the best way to feel a sense of home. In this regard, Indonesian migrants stress the identity as an Indonesian rather than member of *paguyuban*. Entis said:

Whenever I do not have work, I always spend my time in the *warung*. Staying in the house is very boring since I live alone. In addition, I do not have TV and computer. However, I can watch

TV [Indonesian programmes] and use the Internet here. [...] There are Indonesians who I can talk with as well. I do not care about *paguyuban* because I'm an Indonesian. Thus, I can brighten my hour of loneliness by staying here. (Entis, 38 years old, from Cirebon)

Figure 11. Inside of an Indonesian restaurant in Wongok-Dong



Although migrants from particular regions of Indonesia have occupied several *warungs*, *warungs* are businesses that need to make good profit and are, consequently, open to everyone. Owners of *warungs* have, thus, endeavoured to ensure that the atmosphere in their restaurants is not overly weighted toward one group of Indonesians. In this regard, the owner of *Warung 'S'*, from Sunda (West Java), said, "I can speak Javanese and several local languages of Indonesia, except Sundanese, since I have to build rapport with people from other regions. This is the way of running my business." Namely, the owner of *warung* reveals her diverse identities by speaking local languages in spite of her membership of *paguyuban* in pursuit of economic profit. Therefore, every Indonesians can enjoy a

hometown atmosphere in the *warungs*.

In contrast to the need for profit that drives *warung* owners to keep their restaurants open to all, the occupiers of the Indonesian mosque, *Sirothol Mustaqim*, open the space to all Indonesians from a sense of religious duty. For example, Indonesian migrants get married in the *Sirothol Mustaqim*. Before the Indonesian *masjid* was established in Wongok-Dong, they would have held their wedding in the Bangladeshi *masjid* or the Ansan Foreign Migrant Community Centre. Since December 2007, however, Indonesians have had their own mosque. After its establishment, a dominant group as formed in the mosque calling themselves ‘*masjid* people’ to distinguish themselves from Indonesians who do not follow Islamic rules.¹³⁷ Thus, the *masjid* is regarded as a place safe from ‘polluted Indonesians’. However, when it comes to weddings, the ‘*masjid* people’ are willing to relax a little and are happy to allow Indonesian couples who used to ‘sinfully’ live together (to save the money and soothe their loneliness in Wongok-Dong) to marry in the mosque. I asked a leader of *Sirothol Mustaqim* about this unbalanced situation. He explained:

Cohabiting with a girl without marriage is disgraceful as a Muslim. So, most of them are isolated and must feel loneliness due to their faults. However, a wedding is the most important event of a human’s life. So, we should help them whatever they did before. The *masjid* prepares space and food for the wedding. This is a kind of prayer to Allah. (Muslim from Lombok)

Although ‘*masjid* people’ stressed the importance of following Islamic rules, they should cover up all Indonesians due to their social status as a Muslim leader in Wongok-Dong.

In a similar vein, the ICC felt a duty, as an integrated Indonesian community, to offer its office as a temporary *masjid* during *Ramadan* (see Figure 12). Indonesian migrants could use this space for prayer meetings and for *buka puasa* meals in this period. Yunus¹³⁸, a

¹³⁷ See Chapter 5

¹³⁸ He also presided over *Idul Fitri* in Wongok-Dong.

member of the ICC, led prayers and so on instead of an *imam*. The gathering was held in the ICC office for the benefit of undocumented Indonesians. As I described in Chapter 6, the location of *Sirothol Mustaqim* was inaccessible to undocumented Indonesian migrants¹³⁹. For this reason, the ICC office, which is located in the centre of Wongok-Dong, was considered the best option for a *Ramadan* gathering. As a result, the office was full of Indonesians during *Ramadan*. The gathering continued for about one month and I met a lot of unfamiliar Indonesians in the office. One Indonesian explained the reason for his participation:

After the movement of the *masjid*, I could not go to the *masjid* because of crackdown. I'm a bit nervous to go there. However, I'm happy with this [presence of temporary *masjid*]. During *Ramadan*, I want to pray formally with people. We can do this in my room but I prefer to come here. Fast is very hard. It is almost one month. Because I feel backbreaking, I miss my family, friends and hometown a lot in this period. [...] *Paguyuban*? It does not matter. We are all Indonesian Muslim. Important thing is that we can share difficulties of fast and emotion toward Indonesia with people. It makes me calm.

Figure 12. Prayer gathering during *Ramadan* in the ICC office.¹⁴⁰



¹³⁹ See Chapter 6 for details.

¹⁴⁰ Source: My own

Through emphasising identities such as Indonesian and Muslim, hence, isolated Indonesian migrants could use the ICC office and enjoy a hometown atmosphere by sharing their emotions and friendship during Ramadan. In this context, one of the ICC members said, “I’m proud of our activity [...] we should help Indonesians wherever they are from since our motto is united in diversity”. In other words, they stressed the accomplishment of a mission as an integrated community rather than focusing on personal relationships with people, which in turn contributed to making the ICC office a space that was open to all Indonesians. Although ICC members have their each membership of *paguyuban*, that is, they perform activities to enhance integration among Indonesians by preparing temporary masjid in ICC office due to their social status as an ICC executive.

Participating in national ceremony

We saw above that integrated Indonesians in Wongdok-Dong create *Tabligh Akbar*, but isolated Indonesians consume the ceremony in addition to the integrated communities. To Indonesians living outside Ansan, the long holiday of *Chuseok* is considered the best time for visiting their *paguyuban* and hanging around with their *kawan sekampung*. Therefore, quite a number of Indonesians from across Korea come to Wongok-Dong at that time and participate in *Tabligh Akbar*.

At the fourth *Tabligh Akbar*, about 3,000 Indonesians participated without any barriers. In other words, Indonesians could escape from the psychological burdens and fears associated with particular Indonesian groups such as *paguyuban* and religion. It was held in front of the Ansan Foreign Migrant Community Centre, i.e., in an open space (unlike the closed rooms offered by the *warungs* for *paguyuban* events) and a non-religious space (unlike the *masjid*). Therefore, participants did not need to worry about tensions with other *paguyubans* or their own lack of adherence to Islamic doctrine and they could attend

the event as an Indonesian without hesitations.

In fact, I could not go to *masjid* in Korea. I did not fast during *Ramadan*. Also, I saw a lot of sexy girls here. Because of this, I'm reluctant to go there. However, at *Tabligh Akbar*, there was an Islamic reader but he was not in the *masjid*. It was just a festival of Indonesia. [...] I've never seen that before. So many Indonesians came there. (Kalim, 34 years old, from Sulawesi)

We are separately having events according to our *paguyuban*. People cannot go to the events of another *paguyuban*. Nevertheless, we were the same in *Tabligh Akbar* since we are Indonesian. I like it. (Yanto 30 years old, from Blitar)

Indonesian migrants who participated in *Tabligh Akbar* stood in a place not occupied by any Indonesian group, could sing along to Dick Doank's song full of longing for home, and shed tears during Ustaz Wijayanto's impressive sermon.

Although *Tabligh Akbar* was consumed by isolated Indonesians without hesitation, integrated Indonesians created the event to promote themselves and justify their presence as a leader among Indonesian migrants in Korea. Through this religious event, the KMI could fundraise to build a new Indonesian *masjid* in Ansan¹⁴¹ and enhance togetherness amongst separated Indonesian groups. These tangible (fund-raising) and intangible (enhancing togetherness) achievements could be enough to show their sense of mission as Muslim leaders and members of an integrated community in Korea to not only Indonesian elites such as the ambassador but also Indonesian migrants at the event.

Because of Indonesian migrant's *habitus*, hence, isolated Indonesian immigrants can enjoy transnational activities such as consuming various products, occupying their cultural spaces and participating in national ceremonies without huge barriers with the assistance of integrated Indonesian immigrants in Wongok-Dong. As a result, both Indonesian immigrant groups strengthen transnational activities in Wongok-Dong. It enables

¹⁴¹ This fund-raising is held annually at *Tabligh Akbar*. The collection raised about £10,000 in 2010.

Indonesian migrant group that has social cleavages to achieve integration as an Indonesian in Wongok-Dong.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have shown that Indonesian migrants achieve transnational activities regardless of the absence of social networks outside of their *paguyuban* in Wongok-Dong. Indonesian migrants have built bonding and bridging social capital in Wongok-Dong, which has resulted in both integrated and marginalised Indonesian groups. In this regard, this chapter has focused on the relationship between Indonesians' integration, or lack of it, and their transnational activities.

Indonesian migrants have endeavoured to perform transnational activities rather than focusing on assimilating themselves in Korea. They regard Korea as a temporary country for various reasons such as cultural fatigue, the immigration policy, harsh working conditions, lack of opportunities to elevate themselves and the comparative economic advantages between Korea and Indonesia. For this reason, their economic activities focus on making remittances to Indonesia preparing for their return by investment in real estate and starting businesses. This free movement of money is in contrast to the difficulties the migrants themselves have in moving between countries. Thus, mobile phones and SNS provide ways to communicate with people in Indonesia or other countries. These transnational communications enable them to obtain emotional support, perform rituals such as marriage and exchange information. However, such communication is often focused on migrants' absence from their homeland.

In this regard, integrated Indonesians use their position in Wongok-Dong to produce 'Indonesia'. Accumulated Korean and Indonesian social networks play an

important role in creating this 'Indonesia'. In this context, Indonesians launch businesses based on their personal capabilities in the following sectors: international calling cards, mobile phones, band performance and *warung*. In addition, Indonesian groups use their power to not only establish spaces such as the ICC office and Indonesian *masjid* but also initiate national ceremonies such as the *Tabligh Akbar*.

Although marginalised Indonesians suffer through their lack of social networks beyond group members, they can still consume the 'Indonesia' produced by integrated Indonesians in Wongok-Dong. That is, integrated Indonesians provide this 'Indonesia' to isolated Indonesians for economic profit on a personal level or to enhance their reputation on a public level. As a result of this, isolated Indonesians can easily purchase international calling cards and mobile phones and enjoy a hometown atmosphere and events such as *Ramadan*, weddings, *Dangut* concerts, and *Tabligh Akbar* without hesitation or discrimination by dominant groups.

In this regard, both integrated and isolated Indonesians in Wongok-Dong perform transnational activities. On the one hand, integrated Indonesians actively create ways to perform transnational activities based on their position in Wongok-Dong. They distribute these resources to isolated Indonesians to pursue economic profit or enhance their reputation. On the other hand, isolated Indonesians obtain the resources that are created by integrated Indonesians by revealing one of their identities. Thus, integration is achieved between integrated and isolated Indonesians by creating the 'hidden bridging social capital' that is produced by the features of the Indonesian immigrant group (*habitus*). Both Indonesian groups use one of their identities to respond to the context of Wongok-Dong, which has special characteristics as a foreign migrants' town. In this regard, Indonesian immigrants integrate into Wongok-Dong by enhancing transnational activities. However, achieving integration into Wongok-Dong means isolation in mainstream Korea because of

the strengthening of national identity among Indonesian immigrants from different social backgrounds. Therefore, although there are two perspectives to deal with the relationship between immigrants' transnational activities and integration in the host society, these contested views can coexist when we examine the issue with the Indonesian immigrant group in Wongok-Dong.

CHAPTER 9. CONCLUSION

The purpose of this research has been to investigate the relationship between Indonesian immigrants' transnational activities and their integration through exploring the role of social capital and diaspora identity. For this research, I assumed that the Indonesian diaspora group, which has social cleavages, would yield new perspectives on immigrants' integration in the context of Wongok-Dong in Korea. The empirical chapters first focused on two elements of Indonesian diaspora identity: 'homeland orientation' and 'hybridity'. After that, I examined the different types of social capital produced among Indonesian immigrants. Finally, I investigated patterns of Indonesian immigrants' transnational activities based on the role of these forms of social capital. The empirical evidence of my research revealed a complex picture that affects how we should understand the issues of immigrants' integration into the host society.

In Chapter 5, I argued that each member of the Indonesian diaspora maintains the identity that was formulated during the pre-migration period. In making this point, I adopted Barth's (1969) concept of ethnicity. He insists that ethnicity can only be identified by the existence of 'others' in social processes. In other words, ethnicity is a kind of social organisation created to delimit a group's own boundaries to demarcate 'us' and 'them'. According to this theoretical framework, the diverse members of the Indonesian immigrant group made use of symbolic, spatial and social forms of segregation within the group to highlight their specific identity. In terms of symbolic segregation, first, Indonesian immigrants created an 'inside' and 'outside' position by speaking their local language

instead of using Bahasa Indonesia in their daily life. Second, spatial segregation appeared in their specific dwellings and patterns of food consumption. From the perspective of the former, Indonesians in the diaspora attempt to build solidarity among people who are from the same region in Indonesia and to avoid unfamiliar surroundings and the uncertainties that are caused by strangers. Indonesian immigrants choose a *warung* according to the taste in food acquired in their hometown and according to religious taboos. Finally, social segregation among Indonesian immigrants is unavoidable. Indonesian immigrants regard differences of regional origin as a hindrance to the development of mixed social relationships. Based on this, they intensify inner solidarity by uncovering the differences of 'other Indonesians' in everyday life. In addition, Islamic doctrine can be stressed, by the '*masjid* people', to justify closing off relationships with 'polluted people' who break Islamic taboos. Hence, the Indonesian diaspora separately maintain their identities within their group in Wongok-Dong.

However, inspite of the fact that Indonesian migrants maintain their boundaries, in Chapter 6 I showed that Indonesian immigrants can also transcend these boundaries through experiences shared after migration that enable them to intensify their national identity in Wongok-Dong. First, the threats faced by Indonesian immigrants in Wongok-Dong can help them transcend their bonds with *Kawan sekampung*. For example, due to the Korean governments' massive crackdown on undocumented immigrants, previously separated Indonesian groups produce interconnections to cope with this pressure. As a result, they have established integrated community organisations such as the ICC (Indonesian Community in Korea) and they exchange social support with each other. Because of the Indonesian immigrants' vulnerable position as foreign migrant workers in Korea, furthermore, they have the chance to make connections between Muslim Indonesians and the Indonesian Christian churches in Wongok-Dong where immigrants

are able to ask Koreans to help solve various problems such as wage delays, violence in the workplace and so on. In this regard, the AIC (Antioch International Community: Indonesian Christian church) run by a Korean Christian pastor provides various forms of support to Indonesian Muslims as part of the church's missionary work. Although the AIC provides this advice with the overall aim of conversion in mind, it also provides chances for the different religious groups to understand each other and develop social relationships, regardless of whether it succeeds in making a convert to its religion. Moreover, mixed relationships are sometimes achieved among Indonesians through the opportunities that come with economic stability, enjoying life in a well-developed foreign country and learning about Korean culture. Namely, these enable Indonesian immigrants to pursue their personal interests in such activities as photo clubs, music bands and Taekwondo. As a result, they can transcend their boundaries. Finally, Indonesian Islam in Korea has contributed to promoting great unity and togetherness amongst the community through facing challenges and opportunities. In terms of challenges, the lack of an Indonesian *masjid* in Wongok-Dong has caused a feeling of insecurity and instability amongst Indonesian immigrants. For this reason, it has encouraged Indonesian immigrants to fund-raise to establish their own *masjid* as a way to recreate an 'Indonesia' in Wongok-Dong. Through this process, Indonesian immigrants who have different social backgrounds enhance solidarity beyond primordial bonds. Indonesian Islam provides a chance to intensify the nationalist sentiment espoused by Indonesian elites in Wongok-Dong who maximise the Indonesian immigrants' nostalgia using Islamic events such as *buka puasa* and *Tabligh Akbar* to promote national consciousness. As a result, Indonesian migrants have achieved a form of boundary transcendence that reveals their national identity as a way of coping with the challenges and opportunities they face in Korea. Although Indonesian immigrants pursue their personal interests through performing extracurricular activities in Wongok-Dong in terms that

resonate with a situational approach (Banton, 1994), the findings in this chapter correlate with the concept of ethnicity as one that is constructed by elites in order to achieve political and other purposes (Brass, 1991). The Indonesian government has also endeavoured to enhance solidarity among Indonesians from different social backgrounds to overcome the limitations of the group's heterogeneity. National consciousness therefore is potentially embedded in Indonesian immigrants and it can reveal itself in the face of various challenges and opportunities in Korea.

In Chapter 7, I suggested that 'hidden bridging social capital' can be created among Indonesian immigrants due to the features of the Indonesian immigrant group and the context of Wongok-Dong. On the one hand, *paguyubans* can become a significant resource for overcoming their members' unstable conditions in Korea through building bonding social capital. Using bonding social capital, Indonesian immigrants can eliminate cultural fatigue, secure temporary housing in Wongok-Dong, obtain job opportunities and prepare for unexpected incidents (e.g. deportation). On the other hand, Koreans and Indonesians can also be resources for each other in Wongok-Dong by formulating linking social capital as a variant of bridging social capital. To Koreans, Indonesian immigrants can be a resource for pursuing economic profit, gathering foreign migrants for political purposes and performing multicultural events as an administrative objective. For Indonesians, having Korean networks gives them pride and a powerful position within their group due to the difficulty of building social relations with Koreans in Korea. Although Koreans and Indonesians become resources for each other, Indonesians need to satisfy the demands of the Korean group. As a result, integrated Indonesian communities, such as the ICC and AKTIS, that represent Indonesians in Wongok-Dong are useful for obtaining access to Korean networks. The existence of two Indonesian integrated communities does create competition for the limited resources available from Koreans in Wongok-Dong. However,

the competition is not only for gaining Korean networks but also for extending Indonesian networks by using resources that can be obtained by Koreans. As a result, there is a possibility to yield 'hidden bridging social capital' among Indonesian migrants by using linking social capital with the integrated community organisations in Wongok-Dong.

In Chapter 8, I argued that Indonesian immigrants could be actively involved in transnational activities regardless of whether or not they build bridging social capital in Wongok-Dong. Although performing transnational activities is highly demanding of Indonesian immigrants for several reasons, it is possible for all Indonesians to be involved in transnational activities thanks to their social capital. In particular, integrated Indonesian immigrants can access resources for transnational activities easier than isolated Indonesians in Wongok-Dong. Integrated Indonesian immigrants, who can obtain assistance from Koreans and Indonesians with different social statuses, actively create connections with Indonesia by selling various products and services (international calling cards, mobile phones, band performances), preparing cultural spaces (the ICC office, the Indonesian *masjid* and *warungs*) and performing in national ceremonies (*Tabliab Akbar*). Although isolated Indonesian immigrants suffer from a lack of social networks beyond their *paguyuban*, these marginalised Indonesians can still access resources produced by integrated Indonesians. Integrated Indonesians distribute 'the Indonesia' they create to isolated Indonesians to make money on a personal level or enhance their reputation on a public level. Therefore, isolated Indonesians can not only make connections with their homeland by purchasing various products such as international calling cards and mobile phones but also enjoy a 'hometown' atmosphere by participating in various cultural events such as *Ramadan*, weddings, band performances and *Tabliab Akbar* without huge barriers. Thus social capital enhances the transnational activities of both integrated and isolated Indonesians and provides a chance to achieve integration between them in Wongok-Dong.

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

‘DIASPORAS WITHIN DIASPORAS’ AND ‘CREATING NATIONAL DIASPORA AS A RESULT OF HYBRIDITY’

This research contributes to the debate on diaspora. I discussed Indonesian diaspora features in Chapters 5 and 6. Rather than assimilating themselves to life in Wongok-Dong, Indonesian immigrants try to maintain a strong link with their homeland by maintaining their identity through making symbolic, spatial and social segregations. These features of the Indonesian diaspora can be explained by a ‘homeland orientation’, as several scholars have suggested (Safran, 1991; Cohen, 1997; Brubaker, 2003). In addition, members of the Indonesian diaspora transform their identity, in the face of challenges and opportunities, through forming social relationships with people in Korea. This view corresponds with features of diaspora such as hybridity, fluidity, creolisation and syncretism (Brah, 1996; Hall, 1993; Clifford, 1994). Thus, both perspectives – homeland orientation and hybridity – are useful in explaining the characteristics of the Indonesian diaspora in Wongok-Dong.

However, although the diaspora features addressed above help explain Indonesian immigrants’ maintenance and transformation of their identity, the heterogeneity of the group can yield new perspectives on the concept of diaspora. In order to re-examine the Indonesian diaspora features of homeland orientation and hybridity, I used the concept of ethnicity. As illustrated in Chapter 5, Indonesian immigrants make segregations within the group based on their shared heritages such as ethnic group, language usage and religious belief in order to maintain their boundaries. Although Indonesian immigrants emphasise homeland orientation to maintain their cultural patterns in the host society, the divisions in the group mean that this does not result in a ‘national’ diaspora. Thus, there are various diaspora groups within the Indonesian migrant group. However, in Chapter 6, I showed

how Indonesian national consciousness is revealed in the face of the challenges and opportunities of life in Wongok-Dong. Indonesian immigrants reveal their national identity rather than their bonds with *Kawan sekampung* by forming integrated Indonesian communities, fund-raising for their own *masjid* in Wongok-Dong and enjoying Islamic events such as *Buka puasa* and *Tabliab Akbar*. A latent national identity, formulated by elites in Indonesia, is therefore emphasised to cope with circumstances in Korea. Although Clifford (1994) insists that diaspora processes change the idea of modern states, the reality is that the activities of Indonesian immigrants can intensify solidarity among Indonesians who maintain different cultural patterns in Wongok-Dong by applying the hybridity element of the diaspora concept. Hence, examining Indonesian immigrants' boundary maintenance and transcendence using the concept of ethnicity allows us to realise that it clarifies the homogeneity issue within the diaspora group and provides a different perspective between the hybridity of the diaspora group and nation-state. That is, maintaining boundaries contributes to create not only diasporas within diasporas but also a national diaspora.

'HIDDEN BRIDGING SOCIAL CAPITAL' AND TRANSNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

In terms of the concept of social capital, this research contributes to a new perspective on bridging social capital through looking at the Indonesian immigrant group and the distinct features of Wongok-Dong. Indonesian immigrants engaged in the formulation of different types of social capital on the basis of boundary-making. Putnam (2000) insists that different types of social capital – bonding, which refers to within-group connections and bridging, which refers to connections between heterogeneous groups – lead to different ends. However, this perspective has limitations in the case of Indonesian immigrants in Wongok-Dong. Although each Indonesian immigrant builds different types

of social capital in keeping with Putnam's perspective, the inequalities in the social outcomes yielded are not visible due to 'hidden bridging social capital'.

Wong (2007) presents the concept of unseen social capital. He argues that unseen social capital is produced not by social relations for purposeful reasons but by the nature of everyday social relations between individuals. More specifically, although seen social capital is "characterised as functional, visible, organisation-based, and demonstrated in public manifestations on a well-organised and regular basis", unseen social capital is "informal, subtle, and less instrumental in nature" (Wong, 2007:179). Based on this perspective, characteristically unseen social capital "can be altered or destroyed, and can be subject to livelihood priorities and circumstance changes" according to him (Wong, 2007: 179). This approach is meaningful, I argue, in explaining the features of Indonesian migrants' social capital in Wongkok-Dong. As I addressed previously, there are integrated and isolated Indonesian groups. Each group formally builds social capital following the concept of seen social capital. However, hidden social capital is embedded in invisible networks between integrated and isolated Indonesians. It is consciously or unconsciously accumulated awareness about their identities such as an Indonesian, Muslim and so on rather than as members of *paguyuban*. One of these identities can be informally revealed in response to various circumstances in Wongkok-Dong. Thus, Indonesian immigrants who have latent identities can build hidden bridging social capital to sustain their lives in Wongkok-Dong.

Performing transnational activities is one of the important social outcomes that result from building social capital among Indonesian immigrants in Wongkok-Dong. As I discussed in Chapter 8, transnational activities play an important role in sustaining the life of Indonesian immigrants as temporary visitors in Wongkok-Dong. For this reason, Indonesian immigrants endeavour to enhance their transnational activities through various

means. However, Indonesian migrants' access to particular transnational activities is limited according to their networks with Koreans and Indonesians from different social backgrounds. Thus, bridging social capital is crucial to access the resources needed for transnational activities.

Although there are differences in terms of building social capital among Indonesian immigrants, as mentioned previously, people can still be involved in transnational activities. In Chapter 7, I described that Indonesian immigrants who are in integrated Indonesian communities such as the ICC, AKTIS and *Sirothol Mustaqim* can easily build linking social capital with Koreans due to their position in Wongok-Dong. For this reason, they can easily access resources for conducting transnational activities in Wongok-Dong. As I described in Chapter 8, however, isolated Indonesian immigrants who cannot easily extend their social networks beyond their *paguyuban* are also involved in transnational activities, since integrated Indonesian immigrants provide them with the resources for conducting transnational activities to enhance their reputation or make money. Thus, both integrated and isolated groups can sustain their lives through performing transnational activities in Wongok-Dong.

To help illustrate this process further, I adopted the notion of *habitus*. In Chapters 5 and 6, I discussed Indonesian immigrants' boundary-making processes. Although they maintain or transcend their boundary, this has fluidity depending on the circumstances. In other words, Indonesian immigrants reveal one of their identities such as regional origin, language usage, religious belief, Indonesian national identity and identity as a foreign migrant to respond to various situations. This process occurs as integrated Indonesian immigrants help isolated Indonesian immigrants perform transnational activities. Integrated Indonesians reveal one of their identities such as Indonesian, Muslim and so on, rather than emphasising their membership of a particular *paguyuban* when building 'hidden social

capital'. This is due to their intention to pursue economic profits and their relatively high social status among Indonesian immigrants in Wongok-Dong. Although the relationship between integrated and isolated Indonesian immigrants is not immediately visible, the rearrangement of identity of integrated Indonesian immigrants enables isolated Indonesian immigrants to access the resources for achieving transnational activities in Wongok-Dong. Hence, this perspective contributes to correct Putnam's view, addressed above, through yielding 'hidden bridging social capital' among the Indonesian immigrants group in Wongok-Dong.

THE PARADOX OF THE INTEGRATION OF INDONESIAN IMMIGRANTS IN A BORDERLESS VILLAGE IN KOREA

Indonesian immigrants show a new pattern of integration in Korea. To deal with immigrants' integration issues, assimilation theory, describing the straightforward adaptation of immigrants into the mainstream of the host society, has been emphasised by some scholars (Park, 1914; Gordon, 1964). This perspective mainly regards immigrants' assimilation into the host society as integration. However, multiculturalism strongly rejects the assumptions of assimilation theory by insisting that immigrants can adapt themselves in the host society without necessarily changing their cultural heritages (see Castle, 2000; Faist, 2000). Although multiculturalism provides a useful framework to examine immigrants' integration issues in the host society, it can be criticised for its potential essentialism when dealing with immigrant groups (Baumann, 1996; Grillo, 1998).

In this perspective, applying the concepts of diaspora and ethnicity provide a foundation to produce contributions that respond to both the assimilationist and multiculturalist approach. First, even though I argue that Indonesian immigrants maintain their cultural patterns in Wongok-Dong (following the perspective of multiculturalism), in

Chapter 5 the divisions within the immigrant group mean that this does not mean the persistence of Indonesian features. In the terms of assimilation theory, Indonesian immigrants do indeed change their cultural patterns in Wongok-Dong as addressed in Chapter 6. However, this does not imply that they achieve assimilation in Korea. In fact, the case of Indonesian immigrants in Wongok-Dong shows the opposite.

On the basis of maintaining and transforming Indonesian immigrants' cultural patterns, examining the concept of social capital provided a deeper understanding of integration issues. According to classical assimilation theory, Gordon (1964) insists that immigrants have to adapt themselves in the host society through assimilation and acculturation. However, he asserts that assimilation cannot automatically occur in the host society due to ethnic features such as customs, language of origin and the existence of ethnic enclaves. However, this study holds the opposite position because of the distinct characteristics of Wongok-Dong and features of the Indonesian immigrant group. While Wongok-Dong is a part of Korea, this town cannot represent Korean society because of its distinctiveness characterised by the existence of a large number of foreigners and the consequent creation of new social orders among foreigners and Koreans. Nonetheless, as I addressed above, based on this, Indonesian immigrants create 'hidden bridging social capital' in the process of performing transnational activities by revealing one of their identities. Thus, in spite of social cleavages within the group, they transcend their identity as a member of *paguyuban* to claim a larger identity boundary as an Indonesian. Therefore, although Gordon insists that there are stages of immigrant assimilation due to ethnic distinctions, Indonesian immigrants assimilate themselves into Wongok-Dong without these stages, through transforming their cultural patterns as an Indonesian. In this regard, Indonesians achieve integration into Wongok-Dong.

From this perspective, the assimilationist and multiculturalist approach coexist in

understanding the integration issues of Indonesian immigrants in Korea. Several scholars (Portes, 2001; Portes, Haller and Guarnizo, 2001) argue that transnational activities can enhance immigrants' adaptation in the host society. In this regard, Indonesian immigrants achieve integration among Indonesians who have different social backgrounds as part of their efforts to perform transnational activities in Wongok-Dong. Cohen and Sirkeci (2005) argue that transnational activities become barriers to achieve immigrants' adaptation in the host society. However, Indonesian immigrants, who are otherwise isolated in Korea, conduct transnational activities that enable them to achieve integration in Wongok-Dong. Although performing transnational activities enable Indonesian immigrants to integrate with each other regardless of their status (integrated or isolated), achieving integration into Wongok-Dong does not mean assimilation into mainstream society but isolation from Korean society since Wongok-Dong as a foreign migrants' town cannot represent Korean society. As a result, Indonesian immigrants satisfy not only the perspectives of assimilation by achieving integration in Wongok-Dong but also the multiculturalist approach by isolating themselves and maintaining their cultural practices in Korea.

IMPLICATIONS FOR EXISTING RESEARCH ON WONGOK-DONG

This research contributes to a new position beyond existing research on Wongok-Dong. First, I suggest that there are intercultural connections within one national immigrant group in Wongok-Dong. Although several scholars (Park and Jung, 2004; Lee, 2005; Lee, 2008) insist that there are possibilities of integration through building social relationships among people who have different social backgrounds in Wongok-Dong, as I described Chapter 3, these relationships have been weakened by the intervention of the Korean

government (Seo, 2009; Park, 2011; Oh, 2010 & 2011). In this regard, spontaneous actions have disappeared among people from different countries in the town except in the 'shape of produced festivals' (Oh, 2010; Oh, 2011). Furthermore, Park (2011) points out that foreign migrants actively perform community activities based on their nationality due to the support of the local government and civil societies but relationships with people beyond their national group are limited. Thus, it is difficult to build social relationships among people who have different socio cultural backgrounds. However, these researches do not deal with possibilities of building intercultural connections within the national migrant group. In this regard, the Indonesian immigrant group, which is characterised by social divisions in terms of regional origin, language use and cultural practice, has the chance to make relationships within the national group regardless of government interventions. In fact, as I discussed in Chapters 6 and 8, Indonesian immigrants build social relationships with 'other Indonesians' beyond their primordial bonds by responding to various situations in Wongok-Dong. In addition, in Chapters 7 and 8, I argued that Indonesian immigrants achieve integration among themselves by yielding 'hidden bridging social capital' for performing transnational activities in Wongok-Dong. Even though previous studies (Seo, 2009; Park, 2011; Oh, 2010; Oh, 2011) point out problems of decreasing social relationships among people from different countries due to the multicultural policies of the Korean government in Wongok-Dong, therefore, this is not a limitation when we examine the issue of building social relationships within the Indonesian immigrant group in Wongok-Dong.

Second, I argue that Indonesian immigrants are active subjects in Wongok-Dong. Foreign migrants in existing research are illustrated as passive subjects suffering from disappearing welfare and massive crackdowns on illegality in Wongok-Dong (Seo, 2009; Oh, 2011). However, Indonesian immigrants actively overcome these obstacles by using their

social networks, as demonstrated by various examples throughout this thesis. In Chapter 6, Indonesian immigrants cope with various challenges by creating integrated communities such as the ICC, fundraising for an Indonesian *masjid*, extending their networks beyond their religious groupings and using Korean networks. In addition, Indonesian immigrants take advantage of extracurricular activities to enhance their human capital in Korea. To counter the risks of illegality, as described in Chapter 7, Indonesian immigrants prepare their own safety net through fundraising for people who might be deported during crackdowns and finding jobs for undocumented Indonesians. As I suggested in Chapter 8, finally, Indonesian immigrants enhance their transnationalism to help overcome their vulnerability as temporary residents in Korea. These are all the actions of active subjects rather than passive victims.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

My research, like other ethnographic studies, has focused in great detail on one particular community at one particular moment in time. This has enabled me to obtain a deep understanding of the socially divided Indonesian immigrant group in which ‘hidden bridging social capital’ plays an important role in yielding new integration patterns. The concept of ‘hidden bridging social capital’ could be usefully extended to other immigrants groups such as the Chinese and Uzbekistanis who also have social cleavages such as regional origin, religious belief, ethnic grouping and political opinion.¹⁴² Examining these groups would provide a useful comparison point from which to understand boundary-making and the role of social capital in Wongok-Dong more broadly.

My own future research plans include ethnographic research on Indonesian migrant

¹⁴² According to Oh et al. (2007), there is a high level of conflict within the national communities of Chinese and Uzbekistanis in Wongok-Dong due to these internal divisions.

workers who have returned to their home country. Examining returned Indonesian immigrants may enable me to clarify the role of social capital among integrated Indonesians. As I described in Chapter 6, integrated Indonesian immigrants endeavoured to obtain networks beyond their relationships in Korea by helping large number of Indonesians in Wongok-Dong prepare for their future back in Indonesia. Even though isolated Indonesian immigrants can access the resources that are created by integrated Indonesians in Wongok-Dong, integrated Indonesian immigrants accumulate networks as a potential resource for their future in Indonesia. Thus, integrated Indonesians returning to Indonesia from Wongok-Dong should be investigated to clarify the results of their efforts to build social capital.

Investigating returned Indonesian immigrants would also strengthen this research by re-examining their identity negotiations in their home country. Throughout the thesis, I suggest that boundary-making is a reflection of Indonesian immigrants' *habitus* to respond to various situations in Wongok-Dong. Although Indonesian immigrants experienced maintenance or transcendence of their identity boundaries in Wongok-Dong, Indonesians adopted a new framework when they spoke about their futures in Indonesia without considering their experiences in Korea. For example, one of my informants who actively socialised with Indonesians from different social backgrounds said, "Because we are in Korea now, I hang around them for my purposes here. But I don't need these people in Indonesia. They are different from us". In this regard, although as an integrated Indonesian he contributed a lot to isolated Indonesians regardless of their differences in Wongok-Dong, those differences prompt a very different attitude when he talks about his future life as a returnee in Indonesia. In this perspective, his primordial bonds in Indonesia re-assert themselves in spite of his experiences with integrated Indonesians in Korea. This supports my argument for future research on the reconfirmation of returned Indonesians' *habitus* in

their homeland.

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APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW GUIDE LINE

Personal detail

1. Gender: M or F :
2. Age:
3. Year when immigrated to South Korea:
4. Place of birth in Indonesia:
5. Religion:
6. Employment:

Migration

1. Why did you migrate from Indonesia to Korea?
2. Was it your decision to migrate? Did anyone help you with this decision?
3. Could you tell me about the whole process for migration?
4. How much money did you spend for migration from Indonesian to Korea?
5. How did you prepare that money?
6. When do you go back to Indonesia? Why?

Life in workspace and Borderless Village

1. Could you tell me about your life in workplace? (working time, duty, pay and people)
2. Could you tell me about relationship with people in workplace?
3. What are the positive and negative things in your workspace?
4. Did you change your workplaces? Why? Why not?
5. How do you and your family spend money which is earned in Korea?
6. What do you want to do after return to Indonesia with experience in Korea?
7. Why did you decide to live in this area? (Borderless village or Ansan)
8. How long have you lived here? If you were given the choice to move from this area, would you leave it? If not? Why not?
9. Could you tell me what the positive and negative things are about living in Borderless Village?

10. What do you do to avoid negative situation in Borderless village?
11. Describe about festivals or events which were held in Borderless Village?

Identity and family

1. How do you identify yourself in pre-migration periods? (story about home town, people and your life in Indonesia)
2. Could you tell me about your family relations and situations?

Spare time and community activities

1. What do you do usually if you don't have work?
2. Do you have any businesses or work except your regular job?
3. If yes, what is it? And why do you start these activities?
4. Do you know what kinds of communities (Indonesian and multinational) exist in Borderless village?
5. What kinds of communities (Indonesian and multinational communities) do you participated in?
6. What are purposes of those communities?
7. What kinds of activities are performed by communities?
8. How often do you participate in community gathering?
9. Are there any conflicts between people in the community?
10. What profits do you obtain through community activities in the host society?

Social relation

1. How many of your friends live in this area?
2. Could you tell me about people in workplace?
3. Where are they from?
4. Are there any conflicts with people in workplace?
5. How many of your friends live in Korea in general?
6. How do you make a relationship with people who live Ansan? (Indonesian, Korean and other countries)
7. Could you describe the relationship that you have with your neighbours? (with people who have similar social background and different social background)
8. Do you get help from friends when you need it? (What kinds of help, from

whom?)

9. Do you enjoy living among people who have different social backgrounds?
10. How much do you trust people who are from same regional of origin in Indonesia?
11. How much do you trust people who are from different regional of origin in Indonesia?
12. How much do you trust people who have different nationality?

Transnational activities

1. Could you tell me what types of link you are maintaining with your country of origin?
2. How much money do you send regularly to your family per month?
3. What are purposes to make remittance to your family? (education, building a house and business)
4. How much money do you spend for purchasing International telephone card?
5. Do you have preferences to select International telephone card?
6. How often do you call 'home'?
7. How many hours a week roughly do you watch Indonesian channels?
8. How often do you visit Indonesian restaurant per week?
9. How much money do you send your family in Indonesia per month?
10. Do you have experiences about obtaining supports from your family or friends who are staying in Indonesia?

APPENDIX II

INFORMED CONSENT FORM (ENGLISH)

I am asking for your voluntary participation in my research project. Please read the following information about the project. If you would like to participate, please sign in the appropriate box below.

Date :

Title of project: Migration and integration in Borderless Village: social capital among Indonesian migrants in South Korea

Researcher name: Kwangwoo Park

Sponsor: University of Sussex (United Kingdom)

Purpose of the project

The aim of this research is analysis of relationship between Indonesian immigrants' transnational activities and their integration through role of social capital and diaspora identity.

If you participate, you will be asked to:

I will ask about Indonesian migrants' life in home and host societies. That is, economic, cultural, social and political activities which can be related with your social adaptation in Wongok-dong (Borderless village) or Korean society within Indonesian communities.

Risks and discomforts:

During the Interview in the public spaces, I will ask about your personal story which can cause invasion of your privacy. Moreover, you may need to spend your time about 1 or 2 hours for conducting interview. It will be extra burden to you after hard working.

Benefits:

There are no benefits to you from this research. I am not a person from NGOs and government. For this reason, this research cannot be contributed your life. This research will be conducted only academic reasons.

Confidentiality:

All information you supply during the research will be held in confidence and unless you specifically indicate your consent, your name will not appear in any report or publication of the research. Your data will be safely stored in a locked facility and only research staff will

have access to this information. Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law.

Voluntary participation

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. If you decide not to participate there will not be any negative consequences. Please be aware that if you decide to participate, you may stop participating at any time and you may decide not to answer any specific question.

By signing this form I am attesting that I have read and understand the information above and I freely give my consent to participate.

Signature:

Date:

SURAT PERSETUJUAN (INDONESIAN)

Saya Mengharapkan kesediaan anda untuk berpartisipasi dalam penelitian saya. Bacalah informasi tentang penelitian berikut. Jika anda bersedia untuk berpartisipasi, tolong tanda tangani kotak yang tersedia di bawah.

Tanggal:

Judul penelitian: Migrasi and integrasi di “Desa tanpa batas”: peran kapital sosial antara pekerja Indonesia di Korea Selatan

Nama peneliti: Kwangwoo Park

Sponsor: University of Sussex (United Kingdom)

Tujuan penelitian

Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk menganalisa hubungan antara kegiatan multinasional pekerja Indonesia dan integrasi mereka melalui peran kapital sosial dan penyebaran identitas.

Jika anda berpartisipasi, anda akan ditanyai tentang:

Saya akan bertanya tentang kehidupan pekerja Indonesia di daerah asal dan di perantauan. Yang meliputi ekonomi, budaya, sosial dan kegiatan politik yang bisa berhubungan dengan penyesuaian sosial anda di Wongok-dong (Desa tanpa batas) ataupun di perkumpulan masyarakat Korea dalam komunitas masyarakat Indonesia.

Resiko dan ketidaknyamanan:

Selama wawancara di tempat publik, saya akan bertanya tentang kehidupan pribadi anda yang mungkin akan melanggar privasi (keleluasaan pribadi) anda. Di samping itu, anda mungkin harus meluangkan waktu selama 1-2 jam untuk melaksanakan wawancara. Hal ini akan memberatkan anda yang lelah selepas pulang bekerja sehari-hari.

Keuntungan:

Tidak ada keuntungan yang anda dapat dari penelitian ini. Saya bukan dari LSM maupun pemerintah. Oleh karena itu, penelitian ini tidak akan mempengaruhi hidup anda. Penelitian ini hanya akan digunakan untuk tujuan akademis saja.

Kerahasiaan:

Semua informasi yang anda sampaikan selama penelitian akan disimpan secara rahasia dan jika anda kurang berkenan, nama anda tidak akan dimunculkan dalam laporan maupun publikasi penelitian manapun. Data anda akan disimpan secara aman dan hanya staf penelitian yang mempunyai akses terhadap informasi ini.

Partisipasi sukarela:

Partisipasi dalam studi ini adalah sepenuhnya sukarela. Jika anda memutuskan untuk tidak berpartisipasi, tidak akan ada akibat negatif. Tolong perhatikan bahwa jika anda memutuskan untuk berpartisipasi, anda diperbolehkan menghentikan partisipasi kapanpun anda mau, dan anda juga diperbolehkan untuk tidak menjawab pertanyaan tertentu.

Dengan menandatangani surat ini, saya menyatakan bahwa saya telah membaca dan memahami informasi di atas dan saya setuju untuk berpartisipasi.

Tanda tangan:

Tanggal: